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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

GENDER, ETHNICITY, AND THE NARRATIVE PERSONA IN EARLY CANADIAN TRAVEL WRITING

BY

LISA DEMPSEY ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

Edmonton, Alberta

Fall 1993

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled Gender, Ethnicity, and the Narrative Persona in Early Canadian Travel Writing submitted by Lisa Dempsey in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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19 August 1993

ABSTRACT

The narrative persona of a text controls and shapes the act of narration by both disclosing and withholding information, and determining the degree of reflexiveness in the text. Gérard Genette in Narrative Discourse (1980) distinguishes between the mimetic narrator who is effaced in order to represent "the facts," and the diegetic narrator who is reflexive and self-revealing. In the context of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Canadian (or British North American) travel writing, mimesis and diegesis have particular ideological implications. As travellers write about their travel experiences, they reveal aspects of their own cultural locatedness, which are expressed in gendered and ethnically-influenced discourses. All of the narratives I discuss, namely those of Samuel Hearne, Mina Hubbard, Mary Schäffer, Anna Jameson, Paul Kane, and William Butler, display varying degrees of diegesis and/or mimesis to inscribe the traveller-writers' interactions with the wilderness and with Aboriginal peoples. Mimesis is generally characteristic of the travel accounts which exhibit Euroimperialist perspectives while diegesis pervades the accounts which oppose imperialist ideologies (including all three women's texts); however, a diegetic narrator does not preclude imperialist attitudes. Although a narrator's style and ideologies are not necessarily aligned, identifying narrative strategies provides a useful framework for positioning the texts in relation to one another.

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Narratives of early Canadian travel compose a written wilderness through which to make a way, chart a map, act as guide and expert: this is my wilderness of study (since so few have come this way before). I follow six travellers and explorers, imaginatively and interpretively, through unknown landscapes made known or created by the travellers' seeing, and then recreated in their writing. My own particular direction is motivated not so much by a goal-oriented quest as by curiosity, a willingness to explore beyond literary boundaries. But academic interests compel me to prepare a coherent and ordered text of discovery, results, and conclusions. This, then, is my own narrative, my re-vision of the texts I choose to navigate.

Making my way in the first person, I emphasize at the outset of this study my belief in the importance of reflexiveness, of owning up to the narrative persona of my text. Barbara Myerhoff and Jay Ruby explain that

> [t]o be reflexive is to be self-conscious and also aware of the aspects of self necessary to reveal to an audience so that it can understand both the process employed and the resultant product and know that the revelation itself is purposive, intentional, and not merely narcissitic or accidentally revealing. (6)

In Terry Goldie's words, this self-consciousness is the researcher's "determined displacement" from the ideological framework of a text, in order to be able to analyze that framework (7). The essence of reflexiveness, then, is vulnerability, making available for analysis the ideology, and ultimately the self, which a writer inscribes in his or her writing. "And in all that one writes one also inevitably (re)presents, however imperfectly, oneself" (Porter 15).

In every narrative, the narrator or the written self is the product of the writing self, the producer of the text (Myerhoff and Ruby 5; Perreault 9). The narrator interprets, mediates, controls the act of narration, both disclosing and withholding information, determining the degree of reflexivity in the text. Gérard Genette distinguishes between the "showing" or mimetic narrator who is deliberately effaced in order to represent "the facts," and the "telling" or diegetic narrator who "is present as source, guarantor, and organizer of the narrative, as analyst and commentator, as stylist" (166, 167). The latter is the reflexive written self, an acknowledged presence. Yet, as both Genette and Dennis Porter point out, the mimetic narrator is also (although not deliberately) self-revealing to some degree (Porter 39).

I find Genette's distinctions useful in clarifying not only my relation to the texts under discussion but also the matter of the politics of representation in travel writing generally. In each text, the traveller-writer's narrative strategy is closely linked to his or her ideologies.[1] The showing (non-reflexive) narrator is characteristic of Euroimperialist eighteenth- and nineteenth-century "travel and exploration writing...[which] constitute[s] the European subject as a self-sufficient, monadic source of knowledge" (Pratt 136). Europe's colonizing world-vision enforces the supremacy of Europe's power at the expense of the Aboriginal other. Thus, armed with the self-assumed authority of this individualistic perspective, the imperialist writer's purpose is best served by a mimetic or showing (that is, non-reflexive) narrative strategy in the text, in order to prevent questioning or dialogue, and to naturalize the presentation.

The diegetic narrator, however, is reflexive (self-aware and self-revealing), and therefore "inevitably takes into account a surrounding world of events, people, and places" (Myerhoff and Ruby 5). Rather than refusing to acknowledge the other, the reflexive or telling narrator demonstrates "the social construction of subjectivity" by considering the relation of the other to the self (Danahay 103). In travel writing, reflexiveness expands the narrative vision and engages the narrator in criticism of or dialogue with established sources of knowledge (including other travel writers and knowledge bearers of oral

Aboriginal cultures). The diegetic position allows for transformation of the narrator persona, and so comes into conflict with the rigidity of mimetic (imperialist) representations. Diegesis is a particularly significant political choice when the narrative encodes the traveller's encounters with people of other cultures.

Mary Louise Pratt uses the term "contact zone" to refer to "social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination" (4). In the contact zone of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Canadian (or, more strictly, British North American) wilderness, a European traveller-writer must grapple with the presence and lifeways of Native peoples (as I must while reading the narratives). In reconstructing the relations of European-Native contact, "bridging the gap between the known world and the unknown" (Giltrow 28), each Canadian travel narrative chosen for this study reveals the cultural locatedness of its writer through the narrator. I have already mentioned that the degree of reflexiveness in a text's narration reveals something of the writer's political orientation (an aspect of cultural locatedness), but I believe further that this orientation with respect to wilderness travel is influenced significantly by the traveller-writer's gender and ethnicity. As cultural constructions, both gender and ethnicity create the narrative persona (Latin: mask) through which the world is seen. Pratt and Porter's books are particularly helpful in this regard, if not in the context of narratives by travellers to what is now Canada. The main purpose of the present study is to explore the ideological components of the narrative vision/mask, and my discussion of the travel narratives will expand on the connections between narrative reflexivity and the influences of gender and ethnicity. This expansion will serve as an unmasking to the extent that it anatomizes the mask, places it on view.[2]

Now, in the process of my own travelling/writing I recognize that my being a white European Canadian woman shapes the methods and means with which I interpret what I read. I both decode and encode meanings in my re-vision (Bunkers 116). A friend has helpfully pointed out that among today's post-colonial critics, such self-revealing acknowledgements are commonplace and often token statements to satisfy the academic community. Be that as it may, my interest in reflexivity lies at the very heart of my critical discussion. In my investigation of the portrayal of Native peoples, for example, I may recognize the presence of naturalized racist or sexist stereotypes in a travel narrative, yet I know that my own cultural distance from Canadian Natives affects my perceptions. I negotiate the distance between, and personally reject, the binary opposites set up as (white) Self and (Native) Other in imperialist texts, yet the negotiation is ongoing. (I have not arrived.) Reflexiveness is a process.

All the narratives I discuss, namely those of Samuel Hearne, Anna Jameson, Paul Kane, William Butler, Mina Hubbard, and Mary Schäffer, come out of a period of Euroimperialist expansion in the British North American wilderness, both pre- and post-Confederation. Although their publication dates span about 120 years (1795 to 1911), these travellers' accounts of their journeys share the historical context of worldwide European conquest and acquisition of land. Progress and the spread of civilization are central expansionist myths influencing the majority of nineteenth-century European encounters with the rest of the world. In all the narratives discussed here, it is Canada's colonial history in particular which impinges on the travellers' perceptions, although those perceptions are affected in different ways. In order to make some helpful comparisons, I use the imperialist/expansionist perspective as an initial "standard" attitude from which other perspectives may or may not diverge in the travel narratives.

Wilderness exploration is one of the main foci of colonial expansionism, an act based on the myth that what one can see and describe, one can own. Thus the word "survey" means both to view in a general way, as well as to determine accurately the area, contour, or boundaries of land;[3] to survey is to see with a proprietary attitude. At least, this is the Euroimperialist mode of surveying, evident in the recurrence of the "monarch-of-all-I-survey" trope in much nineteenth-century travel writing (Pratt 201). Surveying takes on various forms in expansionist wilderness exploration accounts including ethnography (the describing and classifying of non-European cultures and peoples), cartography, zoology, and botany.[4]

Since this study pays considerable attention to the representation of Native peoples and their lifeways in several travel narratives, I think it helpful to explore here some of the recognizable politics of representation in early imperialist travellers' texts. Many European imperialist writers incorporated the Indigene (that is, their image of the Indigene) into an historical and developmentally evolutionary view of human existence. Terry Goldie states that "the whites viewed the interaction [with Indigenes] as across a gap of time too great to be bridged" (165). In other words, many Europeans saw America as an earlier, less advanced society, "a Pattern of the first Ages in Asia and Europe," according to John Locke (qtd. in Meek 22). European perfectibilists believed that America was more "primitive," and Europe more perfect (Meek 129). Part of this belief involved the four-stages theory of socio-economic development analysed by Ronald Meek, a theory based on the concept of chronologically consecutive modes of subsistence, namely, "hunting, pasturage, agriculture, and commerce" (2). By this theory, Indigenous peoples ranked in the lowest and earliest stage of human development, while Europeans had reached the highest and furthest stage. This perfectibilist belief helped imperialists justify their exploitation of North American land and people as legitimate, anthropological, and historically beneficial work.

Traveller-writers from Europe who see North America and North Americans with anthropological eyes, then, systematically construct Native peoples in travel narratives as historical artifacts which date from a much earlier point in the (European-made) "chronology of...culture" (Goldie 17). Such a determinism and sense of superiority among the perfectibilist travellers also implicitly justifies European society and lifeways. This self-serving paternalism is so pervasive that even those travellers who recognize and contest it (Anna Jameson and William Butler, most overtly) use such phrases as "Children of the Forest" (Jameson 1.26) and "poor red men" (Butler 125, 241). Ultimately, they cannot see Aboriginal people as equally human contemporaries, simply because Aboriginals live within an ideologically different cultural context.

Another impulse in many imperialist travellers' narratives is their identifying of Native peoples directly with nature. By publishing eyewitness accounts of how the Indigenes live in close harmony with nature, traveller-writers "show" that Indigenes both represent and belong to the natural world or wilderness, from which European society is removed by its structures of civilization. Thus, the term "wild" is linked by "an inevitable association with the term Indian" (Goldie 87). Goldie develops an explanation of the ideological system that further describes "violence as an essential characteristic" of, and an "expression of nature" in, Native peoples (90, 95). By determining the natural essence of the Indigene, imperialists, as they assert their technological dominance over nature, also assume control over the Indigenous population whose "natural" violence is called inhuman.

One of the earliest published Canadian travel accounts in English is Samuel Hearne's *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean*...*In the Years 1769, 1770, 1771, & 1772* (1795), in which exploration and exploitation are the explicit goals motivating Hearne's travels from the fort to the mouth of the Coppermine River (xxxv-xli). His is a standard imperialist text in many ways, and suits my purposes for an introductory discussion of how the traveller's ethnicity and gender affect the narrative vision. Hearne is constructed in his narrative as the gentleman explorer, the discoverer and claimant, on behalf of Euroimperialist interests, of any territory that appears to him exploitable for trade and profit (specifically, the Coppermine region). As a sign of his conquest, he is to cut his name and the date of his arrival in a rock within the desired territory, claiming the "Honourable Hudson's Bay Company['s]" acquisition of the land, lake, or river (xxxviii-xxxix, xl). J.B. Tyrrell notes that Hearne in fact does chisel the proprietary notice in a rock at Sloop's Cove (3), and Hearne's own account records another such mark of possession erected near the mouth of the Coppermine River (164). Hearne the traveller in his published narrative is a figure of Europe's expanding power.

The lack of true reflexiveness in the predominating narrative persona of A Journey is furthermore instructive of the text's complicity with Euroimperialist designs. There are moments when a more reflective narrative voice disrupts the dominant mimetic discourse of European control. But even when the narrator inserts personal comments into the account, such as Hearne's wish to be in Europe on Christmas Day (68), or his experience of foot-foundering on the return journey to the fort (186-87), the overall perspective remains quest-motivated. Hearne does not allow a diegetic vision to subvert the authority of his imperial mission.

Inherent in Europe's eighteenth-century colonial expansionism is a disregard for the rights of the Native

Other, which finds expression in A Journey. Although the formalities of consultation with and consideration of Native peoples appear in Hearne's narrative (xxxvi-xxxvii, 164), the Hudson's Bay Company, that establishment of Euroimperialist interest, clearly views the Natives as controlled and controllable by European society. Hearne, as a Company agent, uses Native guides and resources to carry out his surveying and mapping activities, as he is instructed to do. In a fascinating implicit contradiction, he recognizes that "those [Natives] who have the least intercourse with the [Company] Factories, are by far the happiest" (83), yet he maintains his loyalty to the cause of imperialism:

> [i]t is undoubtedly the duty of every one of the Company's servants to encourage a spirit of industry among the natives, and to use every means in their power to induce them to procure furrs and other commodities for trade, by assuring them of a ready purchase and good payment for every thing they bring to the Factory: and I can truly say, that this has ever been the grand object of my attention. (82-3)

In addition to his physical and psychological manipulation of Native people, Hearne's narrative discourse also "produces" North American Aboriginals "as objects of an essentially European knowledge" (Porter 19). His many comments describing various Native groups (Chipewyan, Copper

Dene, and Coppermine Inuit) and their habits form a detailed ethnography within his text. He also refers to the civilizing and humanizing influence of English Hudson's Bay Company employees on the northern Natives, implying the latter's need for improvement (340n.). Yet Hearne's nearly unique experience as the only European traveller among Native guides and hunters belies the myth of European control set up by his mimetic discourse.

The story of the Indian massacre of Esquimaux at Bloody Fall recounted in A Journey reveals Hearne's true position with respect to his fellow travellers.[5] Describing the massacre in the published narrative, the first-person narrator, by stating that "I stood neuter in the rear" (153), establishes Hearne as the morally conscious gentleman, the horrified, helpless European onlooker. By contrast, the text decries the "barbarity" and inhumanity of his Native travelling companions (153). In fact, Hearne as traveller assumes a dramatically conflicting position, being the only non-Native member of a travelling party, finding the need to establish his own distance from them as a civilized European gentleman, yet being dependent on his party for survival. He decides it would be the "highest folly" for him to interfere in a volatile and violent situation where his own life could be at stake (116). His mimetic perspective, in fact, becomes ludicrous in a situation in which he has none of the authority or power required to control his surroundings. Depicting his guides as savages is the only control Hearne can assert, after the fact, to maintain a mimetic narrative stance.

Hearne's observations on the Native Indian women he encounters again portray the traveller as a morally superior gentleman, who pities and abhors the lot of the female sex. He remarks:

> [i]ndeed, the whole course of their lives is one continued scene of drudgery, _viz_. carrying and hauling heavy loads, dressing skins for clothing, curing their provisions, and practising other necessary domestic duties which are required in a family, without enjoying the least diversion of any kind, or relaxation, on any occasion whatever; and except in the execution of those homely duties, in which they are always instructed from their infancy, their senses seem almost as dull and frigid as the zone they inhabit. (336)

Describing a wrestling match he watched between two men claiming the same woman, Hearne expands on the theme of women as "poor wretched victims" (106). His statement that the daily life of a Native woman "would appear very humiliating, to an European woman" emphasizes the comparative savagery of Aboriginals (90). But although Hearne as narrator easily condemns the ways in which Native women are treated in Native custom, he still depends on and uses the women of his party to do the hard work to which they are accustomed. Furthermore, Hearne comments that the women he becomes acquainted with cannot represent the norm for Native females, since "travellers and interlopers will be always served with the worst commodities, though perhaps they pay the best price for what they have" (128-29). According to the narrative, his treatment of and attitude toward women are arguably no better than those of the Native men themselves.

Hearne's attempt to create mimetically an image of moral superiority in his travel account fails because he does not resolve (nor does he even address) the conflict between European cultural values, and the requirements of carrying out his imperialist mission in the wilderness contact zone. He discovers instead the reality that "self-preservation ...[is] the first law of Nature" (294). That law indeed requires him to act and move in particular ways in order to survive. In fact, each of the travel narratives discussed below reveals ways in which the traveller must adapt to the laws of the wilderness. However, the narrative sites of revelation vary significantly in their configuration of the contact zone.

I. WOMEN IN THE CANADIAN WILDERNESS

Without wanting to categorize the narratives in this study strictly according to the gender of each traveller-writer, I acknowledge that significant issues surrounding gender are key to my investigation of the narrative persona in each text. Thus, I position my discussions of Hubbard and Schäffer's texts in consecutive order (with Jameson's immediately following), and suggest here my general entrances into the narratives of women traveller-writers.

According to the narratives in this study, there are some notable distinctions between men and women European travellers with regards to the experience of wilderness travel. Women travellers face issues such as the logistics of travelling "alone" with men as guides, the realization of gender-based roles and limitations, and the awareness of travel as a unique expression of a white/European woman's independence and freedom. "We longed for wider views and new untrammelled ways," writes Mary Schäffer (4), recording what for many women hemmed in by Victorian petticoats (and the sexual politics they represented) was a desire for freedom, and for experience. For some adventurous women like Schäffer, the largely untravelled Canadian wilderness represented the place to exercise freedom on many different levels. To travel beyond European-patterned civilization required imagination, physical exertion, and often unconventional relationships with fellow travellers. Along with these degrees of freedom, wilderness travel also required choices about where, when, and how to move, choices that opened wide (or at least wider) the imagined possibilities of women's experience. Simply by undertaking the journeys they make, Hubbard, Schäffer, and Jameson all rebel against the convention of restricted spheres of action for women. The fact of their published travel narratives exposes yet another breach of the private-world sphere for women. As each pursues her own woman's way through the landscape and through society, she reflects a belief in the equality of freedom of action and expression for women and men.

MINA HUBBARD'S EXPLORATIONS IN A WOMAN'S WAY

Mina Benson Hubbard's journey in the summer of 1905 through eastern Labrador, recounted in A Woman's Way Through Unknown Labrador (1908), is that of a woman who both sees herself as an explorer, and realizes that her gendered role limits her experiences as a wilderness traveller. She diegetically identifies and responds to the physical and conceptual tensions of her position, tensions between the masculine role she desires to take on as successor to her dead husband's exploration plans, and the culturally-defined feminine role she is already automatically assigned as an English Canadian woman. Acknowledging at various points that an undertaking such as Hubbard's is usually the act of a male explorer, the narrator of her account explains Hubbard's motivation: to complete the exploratory journey which her husband Leonidas attempted in 1903 and which ended in his death (ix, 55). Yet as Hubbard continues her husband's work, her narrative repeatedly addresses the differences between men travellers and Hubbard as traveller. This reflexive narrative technique legitimates Hubbard's work by placing it in the context of other explorers' efforts, while also conveying her perception and experience of difference as a woman with an otherwise all-male party. Even though she identifies herself with the male explorer's role, she negotiates the territory as a woman, with physical and cultural constraints never experienced by the men like her husband who previously travelled, or the men who later travel, the Canadian wilderness.

Hubbard's narrator implicitly acknowledges the proponents of societal restrictions for women who discourage or prohibit the kind of travelling she undertakes. The Victorian ideal for womanhood, propagated in many nineteenth-century women's magazines and other literature, and still influential during the early twentieth century, enshrines woman as "the hostage in the home," and as the one who displays the "four cardinal virtues--piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity" (Welter 151, 152). Hubbard redefines herself as woman by leaving the traditional home environment, accompanied by four men none of whom are related to her, and thereby leaving the place of assigned propriety for women. Stating in the text that "[i]t did not seem strange or unnatural to be setting out as I was on such an errand" (55), Hubbard reveals her implicit awareness that others did view her plans as strange and unnatural. (Interestingly, Hubbard's word "errand" has a decidedly domestic connotation here, and suggests a feminization of her explorations.) Immediately thereafter she mentions "the privilege of attempting the completion of the work my husband had undertaken to do" (55), an explanation which functions at least partially as a narrative justification for her actions. Taking on "temporary male status" (Birkett 137) by becoming the explorer in her husband's stead gives Hubbard the identity or persona she requires to cross the threshold of Victorian mores for a "true woman" (Welter 152), and to move beyond the idealized domestic sanctuary of home.

The wilderness, because it exists outside the realm of civilization and its codes, presents a vast space in which Hubbard as a woman traveller can act more freely and experience at least an "illusion of autonomy" during her journey (Stevenson 2). The perception of autonomy is an illusion because, as I explain in more detail below, she and her crew members bring with them expectations and internalized codes of behavior, as reminders that civilization often extends its influences through those who have learned its ways. Still, travelling away from the concretely familiar and established components of white North American society, Hubbard travels into the "indistinct, mysterious and hazy" horizons of the wilderness (Birkett 75), where she can pursue goals previously beyond her sphere of action. The wilderness represents a degree of freedom for Hubbard because its only inherent laws are survival and death, and there are many ways to survive; Hubbard's narrative demonstrates her way and furthermore testifies to her success.

Clearly, Hubbard's explorations and writings do not simply extend a male conquest. Although her narrator bases Hubbard's stated reasons for the trip on her husband's initial quest (which is undeniably very important to her), her ambition and initiative accomplish the journey and the writing of it. Furthermore, Hubbard's published title suggests that her proceeding is very much a woman's way--a physical way she takes through the wilderness, as well as a way to work through her personal grief and to achieve her goals (as a woman, widow, explorer, wilderness traveller).

Hubbard plays out the role of explorer in many ways, mapping the region she travels with some accuracy (her large to-scale "Map of Eastern Labrador" is included with the published narrative), and naming various rivers, lakes, and mountains with proprietary freedom.[6] Here is the surveying explorer at work. William B. Cabot, in his introduction to A Woman's Way, notes that Hubbard's mapping of the Northwest or Nascaupee River is a particularly important accomplishment since no other "white man," or white woman for that matter, had yet travelled the upper section of the river (27). In the narrative, Hubbard expresses her pride in "the full realisation that I was first in the field, and the honour of exploring the Nascaupee and the George Rivers was to fall to me" (107). With additional emphasis she writes in her preface:

> [i]t is due also to the memory of my husband that I should here put on record the fact that my journey with its results--geographical and otherwise--is the only one over this region recognised by the geographical authorities of America and Europe. (ix)

Her narrative inscribes and ultimately voices her public claim to achievement and recognition as an explorer. By writing and publishing the recognition she receives, Hubbard validates her own journey and her husband's unfinished one. Her text is in fact a self-validating text.

Other narrative details demonstrate Hubbard's attention to and competence in expeditionary planning. She enumerates her provisions and equipment at the outset of the journey, beginning with the canoes (53-4), just as her husband

Leonidas does in his diary, which is published at the end of Mina Hubbard's narrative (239-40). Their food items are nearly identical, so it appears that she uses his list as a guide, doubling many of her husband's amounts. (And no wonder, since he died of starvation, and she has five persons compared to his party of three.) Hubbard's leadership of the party also includes her "maiden attempt" one morning "at following a new trail" ("maiden" resonating with meaning here as it would not in a male's narrative), with only the slightest clues to guide her along the portage route (74). Having successfully led the crew to the river, Hubbard writes that her "heart swelled with pride" at the accomplishment (75). However, she does not begin "to feel like an explorer" until they reach the hill-tops and can see for miles in every direction (101); this is the promontory view so common to male explorers' written accounts (Pratt 213), and Hubbard "feels" herself fitting the explorer's role better having attained such a view. She again validates her position and accomplishments by emulating the narrative model of the male explorer. As expeditionary leader, Hubbard finds her decision-making skills tested most severely when she chooses to risk pushing on to Ungava Bay, hoping to meet the Hudson's Bay Company's ship before it leaves for the south, rather than to turn back before winter sets in (178, 187). She takes seriously the duties and responsibilities of being an explorer, and proves herself capable of the role.

However, Hubbard's narrative does not mimetically serve the imperialist ends of the Euro-Canadian establishment, as many exploration texts do, Samuel Hearne's being one example. Rather, the meaningfulness for Hubbard of what she achieves is personal and is kept carefully private through most of her text. Using information from her diary of 1905,[7] I read Hubbard's account as an exploration of and journey through her grief following her husband's death. The element of denial in her grief is evident by what she leaves out of the published narrative. Although the external results of her journey become public, Hubbard refuses to acknowledge in her book that at the very same time of her own trip, another party is travelling along the same route, led by Dillon Wallace, one of the men who had travelled with Leonidas Hubbard in Labrador. In her private journal, Hubbard reveals her distrust of Wallace's actions in the original expedition, as well as her awareness of his journey coincident with hers. The two parties inevitably compete in a race to the finish at Ungava Bay--a race which Hubbard wins (she beats Wallace by a month and a half), thereby defeating the man she partially blames for her husband's death.[8] Silent about the personal triumph embedded in her trip's success, Hubbard's account still throbs with the urgency of her untold motivation to assuage the pain of her grief.

There are poignant moments in the text when the narrator does voice Hubbard's grief, diegetically showing that it colours and changes what she sees in the wilderness. She writes that an evening early in the trip "was very wild and beautiful, but as an exquisite, loved form from which the spirit has fled. The sense of life, of mystery, and magic seemed gone, and I wondered if the time could come when beauty would cease to give me pain" (95). At the end of another day, Hubbard expresses feelings of confusion and bewilderment at so much beauty around her (107), the perception of which conflicts with her pre-formed attitude toward the wilderness, and also, by reminding her of how intensely "the one who was gone 'away' had loved it all" (133), emphasizes her aloneness. In fact, she admits later in the text that she had not expected Labrador to be beautiful, but had simply thought of "getting the work done" (177). By getting it done, by surviving the trip, she conquers the wilderness which took Leonidas from her. But she acknowledges another contest within, as her growing appreciation of Labrador's beauty transforms her original outlook. Eventually she writes that Labrador "in its silent way...had won, and now was like the strength-giving presence of an understanding friend" (177). She even describes her lack of expected loneliness while travelling: "I did not feel far from home, but in reality less homeless than I had ever felt anywhere, since I knew my husband was never to come back to me" (113-14). Her reconciliation with the Labrador wilderness is also a reconciliation to and acceptance of her profoundly personal loss.

Hubbard's narrative contrasts with earlier imperialist explorers' accounts not only in terms of the personal, but also in terms of the political. Unlike imperialists, she displays a notably unpatronizing attitude towards those whom she meets, and recognizes their claims to life and liberty on their land. When at first the men in her crew warn her of the Nascaupees' possible attack on her party, she declares that she would be capable of killing to protect herself and her men (183); thereby, she accepts the realities of wilderness survival. But when she actually meets the Nascaupees, finding them friendly and interested in her, Hubbard discovers herself unexpectedly attracted to them and wishes she "might remain with them for a time" (212). With prompt generosity, she leaves extra provisions of flour, rice, tea, salt, and bacon for the camp when she hears that her party has only five days' travel left to reach the Hudson's Bay Company post at Ungava Bay (207). Upon meeting with a camp of Montagnais Indian women and children, Hubbard pronounces the women's clothing and hairstyles "picturesque and becoming" (190-1), and notes that the mothers in the camp "were evidently happy in their motherhood as mothers otherwhere" (193). Hubbard sees the Aboriginal people as fully human, with human characteristics as recognizable as those of any other people whom she knows. Even when referring to the men as "Children of the Bush," using a primitivist phrase of European origin, she subverts the intention of the phrase to superiorize white peoples by adding, "or for that matter...any other 'children'" (141). No people holds superior status in this narrator's view.

Because of her willingness to adapt to each situation on the trail, Hubbard's narrative includes many reflexive comments about her experiences and her relationship with the four Native men in her crew, three of whom are of mixed blood: George Elson, a Scots-Cree; Gilbert Blake, a half-blood Labrador Inuit youth; Job Chapies, a Cree; and Joseph Iserhoff, a Russian half-blood (Niemi 221; Hubbard 51). Unlike many other white (imperialist) explorers, Hubbard has an egalitarian view of her crew members; she calls them by their first names and expresses to them many of her thoughts and feelings. Most of her communication is with Elson, to whom she comments on the fineness of the scenery and whom she asks about her appearance after a bad day of mosquito and fly bites (74, 88). He takes the liberty of teasing her, and she, with good humour, returns in kind (99-100); this is certainly no servant-master relationship. In another display of personal interest in the men, Hubbard as narrator creates novelistic character sketches of each person in the party. She relates candidly:

> [e]very day my admiration and respect for the men grew. They were gentle and considerate, not only of me, but of each other as well. They had jolly good times together, and withal were most efficient. Gilbert was proving a great worker, and enjoyed himself much with the men. He was just a merry, happy-hearted boy. Joe was quiet and thoughtful, with a low, rather musical voice, and a pretty, soft Scotch accent for all his Russian name. He spoke English quite easily and well. Job did not say much in English. He was very reserved where I was concerned. I wanted to ask him a thousand questions, but I did not dare. George was always the gentle, fun-loving, sunny-tempered man my husband had admired. (94-95)

Hubbard's appreciation for the men as individuals is patent. She even takes cooking lessons from them, self-reflexively recording the unexpected role reversal:

> [a]t first I thought I could teach the men a lot of things about cooking bannocks, but it was not long before I began to suspect that I had something to learn....if my efforts were not much help they certainly furnished amusement for the men. (72-73)

She learns from Gilbert Blake that one region they pass through is "great marten country, and so I named the tributary stream we followed, Wapustan River" (96), taking the name from the Cree word for marten. With such a name, Hubbard acknowledges the natural surroundings of the river, as Aboriginals often do in their naming practices, rather than imposing a name of detached or even arbitrary significance, as is the case with many explorers' namings. Based on her acceptance of the men as equals, Hubbard develops an amiable working friendship with them.

Friendship is only one facet of her relationship with the crew, however; A Woman's Way also records the tensions created by her expectations as leader-organizer of the journey and the men's expectations of Hubbard as a woman. It quickly becomes evident to her that the men regard her well-being as their responsibility. Alternately Hubbard expresses amusement and irritation at being carefully guarded and protected by the men. She states, "[t]he men did not like to see me go near the river at all except when in the canoe, and warned me against going to the rapids," although she finds the rapids particularly fascinating (69). When her venturing close to the water elicits George Elson's threat to turn the whole expedition around, she decides to comply with their demands (70), finding that "[i]t began to be somewhat irksome to be so well taken care of" (85). Judith Niemi remarks that because of the men's protectiveness, "Mrs. Hubbard was in some danger of having no adventures at all" (221). Aware of this danger herself, Hubbard finds Elson's "tone of authority... sometimes amusing," but recalls, "[s]ometimes I did as I was told, and then again I did not" (88). Her desire to experience all that the wilderness has to offer comes into conflict with the men's notions of gender roles; they tell Elson that "they never were on a trip before where the women didn't do what they were told" (131). What marks acceptable behaviour in a woman according to the men, especially given their anxiety to protect her, which issues out of both their high regard for her late husband and their vow not to allow his fate to be hers, limits Hubbard to remaining continually in their presence. Elson reminds her that the outside world holds the men in her crew responsible for her safety, and that they "could never go back again...without [her]" (131). Because the four men are Natives, Elson's statement suggests his fear of a racist backlash from white European society, with its well-encoded Native-as-savage stereotypes. Their caution arises out of a concern as much for their own welfare as for hers.

Interestingly, although Hubbard notes the men's concern about the opinions of the civilized world, she does not record in the book her own discomfort about the possibilities of gossip regarding the circumstances of her trip. Her travelling with four Native men was bound to raise questions in the minds of those all too willing to believe the worst about the behaviour of Aboriginals. In fact, Hubbard's diary does give evidence of her concern, both for her own reputation, and for that of her crew members. She writes out a statement in her diary (as well as in each of theirs), and asks each of them to sign it. It reads,

> George River Post, September 16th 1905
>
> We the undersigned do hereby declare each for himself that during the trip across Labrador with Mrs. Leonidas Hubbard, Jr., leaving Northwest River Post June 27, 1905, reaching George River Post August 27, 1905, we at all times treated Mrs. Hubbard with respect, and each also declares his belief that Mrs. Hubbard was always treated with respect by the other men of this party. Each also here records his promise that he will never by look or word or sign lead any human being to believe that during the trip there was anything in the conduct of Mrs. Hubbard and her party towards each other that was unbecoming honorable Christian men and women and also that he signs this statement entirely of his own free will and accord. (qtd. in Davidson and Rugge 325)

Although the statement seems meant for a public audience, Hubbard chooses not to publish this demonstration of her concern. Perhaps the formality is a contingency measure, since Hubbard publicly handles the issue by avoiding the subject completely. Through her silence she maintains discursive control over the situation and over the image she conveys to the public eye.

Hubbard does not always maintain such control, however. In an ironic bind, she must make the final decisions for the whole crew, yet she often finds herself unable, because she is a woman, to function as she would like. When they all spy a fish eagle's nest high in a tree, Hubbard remarks that the situation "was one of the very many things on the trip which made me wish I were a man. I could have had a closer look at the nest; I think I could have taken a photograph of it too" (87). Whether limited by lack of physical strength or by the rules of propriety which would forbid her being exposed from below to onlookers during such a climb, Hubbard again finds herself constrained, even in the comparative freedom of the wilderness. On another occasion, when told a hill was too slippery for her to climb, Hubbard chafes at the role assigned to her: "[i]t seemed such an ignominious sort of thing too, to be an explorer, and have one of my party tell me I could not do something he had already done, and was about to do again, just for the mere pleasure of it" (109-10). She finds by experience that some pleasures can be gender-determined luxuries.

In spite of the limitations around her, Hubbard does manage to "[throw] off restraint" on one excursion into the hills alone (126), taken on her own initiative after obtaining Elson's consent (122). Being her one true journey into freedom, unaccompanied, it accents the relative confinement of her travelling circumstances. Hubbard writes of this experience: "[i]t seemed beautiful to be going off without a guard, and to think of spending an hour or two up on the hill-top, quite alone, with a glorious sky above, and the beautiful hills and lakes and streams in all directions" (123). Her capacity for enjoyment of the beautiful is enhanced in her solitude, as though even her soul was restrained in the company of others. She senses "something of the feeling a child has who runs away from home" (124), but laughs at her imaginings of "how terrified they [the men] would be if they could see me" (126). In the end, her escapade causes the men so much anxiety for her safety that she agrees to have someone accompany her at all times thereafter. She remains confined within the constructions of feminine weakness and delicacy, in the midst of an arduous trip of her own initiating.

Mina Hubbard's rebellion against the limitations imposed on her shows itself more subtly in her attempts to prove herself capable in any situation. Her boasts of capability again evince a desire for more freedom and self-determination, perhaps partly to compensate for her lack of control over her husband's death nearly two years before in the Labrador wilds. Thus Hubbard records that while waiting for the men to complete a portage, "[s]ecretly I rather hoped a bear would come along for I thought I could manage him if he did not take me unawares" (84). Dea Birkett notes that encounters with danger serve an important function in

Victorian women's travel narratives:

> [i]ronically, the threat or imagined threat of danger enhanced the women travellers' sense of control over their lives: it gave them a situation which in the desert, forest, or mountain range, they had to face up to alone, drawing upon their innermost resources to conquer both the surrounding environment and their own fear. Danger was empowering, because it showed women how strong they could, if called upon, be. (67)

Hubbard's need to show strength and to work out her grief combine in written passages that show her desire to fuse with the wilderness. Describing herself watching the rapids at one point, she remarks,

> [t]hey were so strong, so irresistible. They rushed on so fast, and nothing could stop them. They could find a way over or around every obstacle that might be placed before them. It made one wish that it were possible to join them and share in their strength. (69-70)

Hubbard's journey and resulting narrative do partake of the strength of the wilderness, as she determinedly makes her way. Even her concluding self-deprecation cannot take away from what she achieves: in stating, "[t]he work was but imperfectly done, yet I did what I could" (237), Hubbard renounces the role of the helpless, passive woman, and, aware of her limitations, chooses to be known as the explorer she is.

Another woman explorer, Mary Schäffer, equally aware of women's limitations in the early twentieth century, goes about her Canadian mountaineering activities in even more overt defiance of society's restrictions; she refuses to be confined by contemporary conventions of behavior. Not only does she resist confinement, however; Schäffer strongly advocates wilderness travel as an agent of healing and happiness.

MARY SCHÄFFER: WRITING (OF) PARADISE

Mary Schäffer's travel narrative Old Indian Trails (1911) expresses the curiosity and desire for freedom which motivate her and her companion "M." [Mary or "Mollie" W. Adams] during their exploratory treks on horseback through the Rocky Mountains of western Canada in 1907 and 1908. Many aspects of the narrative align with other constructions of "feminotopias...that present idealized worlds of female autonomy, empowerment, and pleasure" (Pratt 166-67). The narrator of Schäffer's account several times refers to her two summer excursions as other-world experiences, or sojourns in an Edenic garden. Within this metaphorical framework, Schäffer and Adams are cast as New-World explorers who escape from the confinements of Old-World civilization and find in the Canadian wilderness the "new untrammelled ways" they seek (4). This perception that the Rockies are paradisaical (256) and therefore life-enhancing both influences the narrative style and creates a social commentary, the publication of which at least partially motivates Schäffer's travel writing, as she explains in the prefatory "Why and Wherefore" of the book (v-vi). With her own particular knowledge of societal "trappings" (v), Schäffer reflects on the freedom of being an explorer in the mountain wilderness, with respect to her womanhood and to her citizenship in white European American society. Through her travel account, Schäffer further exercises and extends to others that freedom.

Old Indian Trails is a text that diegetically invites the reader's response to its self-explained purpose. Schäffer's goal is to share the beauties and benefits of the Rocky Mountains with her readers. As Mina Hubbard does, Schäffer recognizes in Nature (or completely natural surroundings) healing and transforming qualities, but while Hubbard relates only the effects of her experience, Schäffer (who is also a widow)[9] attempts to transmit Nature's influence to her reading audience. Hubbard is more the reporter in this area, while Schäffer is the reflexive author. In a tone both humble and yet admonishing, Schäffer's narrator initially addresses those who "with aches and pains, with sorrows and troubles, listened the least, or looked upon our mountain world as but a place of privation and petty annoyances" when Schäffer verbally recounted her travel experiences (v). She hopes that the written text will receive different treatment, and states:

> [f]or them I have written the following pages, tried to bring to them the fresh air and sunshine, the snowy mountains, the softly flowing rivers,--the healers for every ill. Will they close their eyes and shake their heads? Not all, I trust.
>
> To you who are weary both in body and soul, I write the message: "Go! I hand you the key to one of the fairest of all God's many gardens. Go! Peace and health are there, and happiness for him who will search." (vi)

(Ironically, she uses "him" rather than "her" for the universal pronoun, although the narrative inscribes a woman's perspective and addresses issues of women's discontent in society; here the grammatical convention clashes with the message of the text.[10]) Rather than write her own mimetic quest narrative, Schäffer writes an anecdotal wilderness travelogue (including photographic illustrations) designed to let the reader vicariously experience the trip as a quest for health and happiness.

Schäffer's belief in the benefits of travelling in the Rockies is directly linked to her anti-materialist (and thereby anti-capitalist) perspective. She diegetically describes her early experience of mountain living as a lesson in transvaluation:

> [i]n them [various camping-places] we learned the secret of comfort, content, and peace on very little of the world's material goods, learned to value at its true worth the great un-lonely silence of the wilderness, and to revel in the emancipation from frills, furbelows, and small follies. (3)

Her critical references to the "follies" of society life, linked in this passage to the conventional ornaments of (Victorian-style) women's clothing, actually appear seldom in the text, and only as passing comments. But the contrast between how the narrator portrays civilization and how she portrays wilderness reflects the intensity of her social critique. Schäffer mentions "frills and furbelows" again in juxtaposition to the essential contents of their trail packs: "not with frills and furbelows, but with blankets and 'glucose,' air-beds and evaporated milk, with 'Abercrombie' shoes and dried spinach, we were off across the continent" (17). Evidently, Victorian standards of feminine appearance clash with, and even obstruct, the experience of long-distance wilderness travel.

Even more than with the material trappings of society life, Schäffer's discontent lies with white civilization's systematized codes of behavior which distract one from the true enjoyments of living. "Civilisation!" she writes, "[h]ow little it means when one has tasted the free life of the trail!" (352) She counters the critical comments of those who fail to understand or sympathize with her travels, and composes a defence of her actions, much as Hubbard does in her text. However, Schäffer shapes her defence into a logical argument composed of strong rhetorical questions.

> Why must so many cling to the life of our great cities, declaring there only may the heart-hunger, the artistic longings, the love of the beautiful be satisfied, and thus train themselves to believe there is nothing beyond the little horizon they have built for themselves? Why must they settle so absolutely upon the fact, that the lover of the hills and the wilderness drops the dainty ways and habits with the conventional garments and becomes something of a coarser mould? Can the free air sully, can the birds teach us words we should not hear, can it be possible to see in such a summer's outing, one sight as painful as the daily ones of poverty, degradation, and depravity of a great city? (14)

With reproachful undertones, Schäffer points out the absurdity of accusations that would cast aspersions on her character because of her exposure to the wilderness. She suggests that, rather, it is city living that subjects one to painful, degrading, and depraved influences. Her delight in Nature arises alongside her disillusionment with urban capitalist society.

Initially, Schäffer's impatience with societal conventions of femininity and their implied constraints is formulated into a desire to be male, or at least to have the abilities of men. Recognizing the physical limitations of the female body, she writes that before she and Mollie decided to travel, they

> ...fretted for the strength of man, for the way was long and hard, and only the tried and stalwart might venture where cold and heat, starvation and privation stalked ever at the explorer's heels. In meek despair we bowed our heads to the inevitable, to the cutting knowledge of the superiority of the endurance of man and the years slipped by. (4)

However, with further promptings of curiosity to see first-hand the places they heard about from male travellers, Schäffer reasons: "'[w]e can starve as well as they; the muskeg will be no softer for us than for them; the ground will be no harder to sleep upon; the waters no deeper to swim, nor the bath colder if we fall in,'--so--we planned a trip" (5). Her determination to broaden female experience results in an appropriation of space for women within a world circumscribed by and for men. Although the women's routes are directed and influenced by the men explorers who have gone before,[11] Schäffer and Adams pursue their own dreams, which are not limited by specific imperatives of exploration but rather expand with the women's appreciation of the wilderness setting.

By writing about her experiences, Schäffer also creates a narrative which includes her in the world of written travel accounts, a world which she previously found to be exclusively male. She claims a feminine space for her narrative that exists within the travel book genre, and yet extends outside of the genre (as she travels physically beyond the paths previously mapped by explorers) by refusing to adhere to male imperialist convention. However, Schäffer's many references to men explorers and their travel accounts (see n. 11) signal her narrative's continuous negotiation between her work and that of her male predecessors and contemporaries. With acknowledged disguise, she uses the terminology and creates the appearance of an explorer's quest (far more consciously than Hubbard does), in order to legitimize her distinctly un-quest-like work and travel. She states:

> [o]ur chief aim was to penetrate to the head waters of the Saskatchewan and Athabaska rivers. To be quite truthful, it was but an aim, an excuse, for our real object was to delve into the heart of an untouched land, to tread where no human foot had trod before, to turn the unthumbed pages of an unread book, and to learn daily those secrets which dear Mother Nature is

> so willing to tell to those who seek. (13)

In fact, Schäffer finds the questing role alien to her way of exploring, and records: "[i]t seemed strange at first to think we must announce some settled destination, that the very fact of its being a wilderness was not enough" (13). At one point, Schäffer and Adams decide to travel through the Valley of the Lakes merely because of the imaginative and tempting lure of the name itself (186). Yet, in spite of her resistance to specific goal-directed travel, Schäffer determines on her journey to find the elusive "Chaba Imne" or Beaver Lake of Native legend, and she entitles one of her chapters "The Search for the Unmapped Lake" (229), a decidedly questing segment of narrative. Near the conclusion of the chapter comes a declaration that "the long quest was over, the object found, and it seemed very beautiful to our partial eyes" (242). This is a significant climax of the narrative: Schäffer and Adams reach the unmapped Maligne Lake, probably "the first white people to have visited it" (242). As women explorers, they make their own mark on the charts, and in the published accounts, of wilderness travel.

In spite of the ways in which Schäffer uses questing language to describe some of her discoveries, the narrative as a whole is far from an imperialist quest for ownership or exploitative dominance. In fact, the narrator's main concern regarding the wilderness through which Schäffer travels is for the preservation of that land and all its inhabitants. A troubled section of narrative shortly following the party's discovery of Maligne Lake further reveals Schäffer's discomfort with the typical acts of exploratory possessiveness (common to mimetic discourses). Schäffer recounts how the party members carve their "initials and the date of their visit" into a tree at the edge of Maligne Lake "for the first time and only in all [their] wanderings" (254). In an already apologetic tone, she also records that

> [e]ven then I think we all apologised to ourselves, for, next to a mussy camp-ground, there is nothing much more unsightly to the true camper than to see the trees around a favourite camping sight disfigured with personal names and personal remarks. (254)

(Compare the significance of Hearne's proprietary notices cut into the rock along the Coppermine [164; Tyrrell 3].) In addition, her condemnation of white civilization's inroads into the wilderness is unequivocal. Schäffer is horrified at the signs "that the hideous march of progress, so awful to those who love the real wilderness, was sweeping rapidly over the land and would wipe out all trail troubles" (359). By writing about her mountain world, Schäffer acts to preserve that world and to stand against the encroaching capitalist forces that she believes are destroying it.

Schäffer's diegetic attention to the spiritual effects of the wilderness on herself and her companions is a refreshing and insightful theme of her narrative. She feels transformed once having reached the Nashan Valley where "the spirit of the gypsy haunts those valleys and enters the breasts of those who pass the portals" so that they become "gypsies heart and soul" (133). Her statement inscribes the wilderness as an active force, acting on the traveller-observer as though on a passive object; the observer is changed while the wilderness remains unchanged. Furthermore, the "spirit of the gypsy" she refers to represents an element of freedom and an unconstrained existence beyond social conventions.[12] Schäffer also writes of the Kootenai Plains: "[t]o appreciate them one must breathe their breath deep into the lungs, must let the soft winds caress the face, and allow the eye to absorb the blue of the surrounding hills and the gold of the grasses beneath the feet" (172-73). Letting the wilderness enter in, allowing its sensory pleasures to touch the senses and activate them (and through the senses, the soul)--these acts form Schäffer's conception of the wilderness travel experience, as she portrays a sensual and arguably feminized traveller inviting contact with the often femininely personified wilderness landscape (as in 130 below). Schäffer internalizes many of her encounters with the wilderness and its creatures; she writes of the Nashan Valley:

> [i]t was hard to go from that beautiful place, to leave the little lake [Nashan] to the butterflies, the gophers, the ducks, the bears, and the flowers. But neither our coming nor going left one ripple on her placid face; born to loneliness she would not miss us. (130)

Although the travellers have no lasting effect on their surroundings, Schäffer's narrative attests to the powerful impressions the wilderness has left on her. Her narrative is, in fact, an artistic re-impression of that travel experience.

Schäffer's artistic eye renders several wilderness scenes with vivid visual detail, in keeping with the travelogue style of her narrative. Of Bow Lake she writes,

> [n]ever have I seen the lake look more beautiful than on that fair morning in June. It was as blue as the sky could make it, the ice reflected the most vivid emerald green; in the distance a fine glacier swept to the lake-shore, whose every crevasse was a brilliant blue line; the bleak grey mountains towered above, at our feet the bright spring flowers bloomed in the green grass, and over all hung the deep blue sky. Around us hovered the peace which only the beauty and silence of the hills could portray. (28, 30)

Here is a panoramic vista described, as in many other travel narratives, with broad, sweeping, descriptive phrases, yet with a personal reflective comment on the peace of the surroundings which breaks through the mere visual description. The artist candidly admits, however, that her artistic appreciation is removed from the actual travel experience. Schäffer writes on another occasion that "[t]he hills beyond rolled away in soft undulations, but at the time, we were thinking far more of the length of them than of their artistic effect" (335). The traveller is not always able to see with an artistic eye. It is only during later reflection that Schäffer becomes the artist who represents her mountain world.

Schäffer's artistic role is not an entirely comfortable one, though, as she downplays her abilities to represent her subject adequately. This diegetic technique, noted in several centuries of women's writing as the humility trope, serves to deflect from the author any judgement made against her or her writing. Schäffer makes clear that she claims no excellence in her published work: "[a]las! it takes what I have not, a skilled pen. Perhaps the subject is too great, and the picture too vast for one small steel pen and one human brain to depict,--at least it is a satisfaction to think the fault is not my own" (16). While she seems to throw the blame for her supposed inadequacy away from herself, she shortly takes up the subject again: "[a]las! that my pigments are so crude and my brushes so coarse, the scenes are so fair and the artist so unequal to her task!"

(19-20). In a similarly humble tone, with reference to the expeditions she and Adams undertake, Schäffer gives to Billy Warren ("Chief" in the text) "the credit of [their] success, claiming only for [them]selves the cleverness of knowing a good thing when [they] saw it" (11). These statements of inadequacy form a provoking contrast to the other descriptions of initiative, achievement, and active exploration in the narrative. Schäffer writes of both her success and her failure to achieve, as though her wilderness exploration requires qualification and moderation to gain acceptance among the majority of the reading public.

The feminine space Schäffer creates for her narrative is furthermore enhanced as she recuperates the genre of the woman's personal diary through her narrative, a genre associated with the private, domestic sphere of women.[13] Schäffer explicitly refers to her own "worn, thumbed, much-jeered-at diary" (19) as the basis for her published narrative; she acknowledges as she describes it that others have already scorned the diary's value. Her publication, then, is a political act of defiance. Schäffer claims for her diary the immediacy and accuracy of a representational art, and diegetically admits her own agency in and influence on that art:

> its lead-pencil-smudged pages (in many places nearly obliterated) are dear to the eyes of its owner, and it is at least a record of the heart-beats day by day,

> with all the lights and shadows of the hills and valleys underlying the grimy, once white leaves. (19)

Not only does Schäffer consciously attempt to reflect her wilderness surroundings in her writing, but she also reflects a great deal of her self, in spite of the fact that she does not publish the diary itself, but rather a modified and annotated travel account. Old Indian Trails reads like a personal letter to a close friend. (Below I discuss the narrative of Anna Jameson, which is a compiled version of the letters she writes to a female friend.)

The intermingling of the women's exploratory and domestic roles is another compelling gender issue in the text, as it is in Hubbard's narrative. The mountaineers' camp is looked after by two male guides, Billy Warren and Sid Unwin, yet when the men leave camp to explore the trail ahead, the women take over and domesticate their space. Schäffer writes about one day passed in camp:

> [k]nowing our lake was in such close proximity, the next day passed as only a woman in camp knows how to pass it. To study out how to do a large wash in a small tea-cup, to smooth out the rough-dry garments and avoid appearing as though one had personally passed through a wringer... (67-8)

are their chores for the day. Furthermore, "[t]hese days [in camp] always began with admonitions from the departing ones 'not to meddle in the kitchen department, or to waste the laundry soap,' and always ended with our flying at both the minute our guardians were out of sight" (76). The women's eagerness for domestic activity coincides with the absence of men; only then is there "potential...for an idealized domesticity" in the narrative (Kolodny xiii). According to Pratt, the prominence of "domestic settings" in women's as compared to men's narratives speaks "not just of differing spheres of interest or expertise,...but of modes of constituting knowledge and subjectivity" (159). Schäffer at least partially defines herself and her work in terms of the domestic spaces she occupies. At one point she records her joy that the men have gone to cut the trail ahead, and that there is "not a soul to pry into [their] domestic efforts" (278). Privacy in domestic affairs is a significant need in the woman explorer's travel routine.

For Schäffer, privacy includes a sense of freedom. Still experiencing the constraints of behavioral codes on the trail, the two women feel "like youngsters playing 'hookey,'--a strange sense of unaccustomed freedom possessing [them]" when the male travellers leave on a day-trek to their food cache (106). Like Hubbard, who has to strike out on her own to experience the degree of freedom she longs for, Schäffer narrates her need to be left to her own devices as a woman. (Actually, Schäffer and Adams on their own together experience a female companionship that Hubbard never has on her journey.) Yet both Schäffer and

Hubbard feel like delinquent children when they are separated from their male protectors (Hubbard 124; Schäffer 106). The presence of men for these women explorers is a reminder of their lack of self-sufficiency and their dependence on men during their travels. Thus, as Hubbard tells of her "maiden attempt at following a new trail" (73), so Schäffer writes of her "Maiden Voyage on the 'New' Lake" (Maligne) (244); both encode their "maiden," womanly experiences in feminine terms, as though to proclaim subtly their exclusive ownership of those achievements.

The issue of feminine difference in the women explorers' accounts surfaces not only around exploration activities, but also in the women's dislike for the killing of wild animals. Men appear as the hunters in the texts, and women the unwilling onlookers. Even though hunting provides necessary meat to supplement waning food supplies for each of the parties, the women both express regret and sadness over the deaths of animals. Schäffer recounts how she and Adams watch a goat being hunted down and killed by one of their guides, and she admits that the women "regarded his [the goat's] death instantly from a sentimental point of view, and a little later from a more practical standpoint" (58). The same women intently watch a "bunch of goat" on the mountainside one evening and point them out to the men (who have been away several hours) as their goats "with far more pride than if [the women] had shot them" (31, 32). The hint of superior difference in the women's pride of enjoyment implies that the men's (lesser) pride would have been in killing the animal.

Similarly, Hubbard describes a caribou hunt during which she gladly believes the animal safely escaping, only to watch her guides lure it back into deep water where they make the kill (112). Her response during the chase is to pull "[her] hat down over [her] eyes while the deed [is] done" (112), although she looks up after the first pistol shot and asks George Elson to use his rifle to end the caribou's obvious suffering (113). In spite of her desire to see the creature "speeding over his native hills, rather than as he [is]" (113), Hubbard also acknowledges the value of fresh meat for their provisions; she accepts the reality of wilderness trail life. Concerning a later occasion, though, Hubbard states emphatically she is "glad [she] can record that not a shot was fired" as her party watched a huge herd of migrating caribou (164). Schäffer and Hubbard's discomfort with the harsh realities of killing, aligned with their intense appreciation for the beauty of the wilds, indicates a friction between the women's sensibilities and the demands of wilderness travel.

In keeping with Schäffer's antimimetic criticism of white civilization, her text also compares white and Native lifeways, and thus extends her portrayal of the wilderness as paradise. She remarks that while "the Indian is a part of the whole, the white man, with his tin cans and forest-fires, desecrates as he goes" (242). Her implied moral judgements of both Native and white cultures are inextricably related. Ronald Meek suggests that during the Renaissance, European writers disgruntled with aspects of their own society tended to "emphasize the simplicity, honesty, and equality of American [Native] society, holding the latter up (to a greater or lesser extent) as an ideal to be aimed at by Europe" (Meek 39). Moreover, Sigmund Freud observes that many unhappy people in the twentieth century believe that "what we call our civilization is largely responsible for our misery, and that we should be much happier if we gave it up and returned to primitive conditions" (33). Schäffer's text displays such dissatisfaction with her own culture and an idealization of the (wilderness and therefore non-"civilized") Native culture with which she comes in contact during her mountain explorations. She follows "Old Indian Trails" as her narrative's title suggests. However, hers is not a strictly-drawn dichotomy between Native and white, and neither is she completely uninfluenced by her own society's Native stereotypes.

Before Schäffer even encounters Native people in the chronology of her narrative, she extols the simplicity and beauty which characterize Native living patterns. She claims to have learned "a whole lot about 'the simple life'" from "[t]he Indian" and demonstrates this in her ability to do without many devices in her washing techniques (95). Drawing a comparison with previous washing experiences, Schäffer concludes that "there is a lot of unnecessary fret and worry in civilised life" (95). The Natives' apparent appreciation for beauty also strikes a sympathetic chord with Schäffer, and she muses:

> I often wonder when passing an Indian camp-ground, be it ancient or modern, if ever for an instant the natural beauty of a location consciously appeals to them. I have seen not one but many of their camps and seldom or never have they failed to be artistic in their setting.... (174)

With similar sentiment, Mina Hubbard in A Woman's Way comments on the location of a Native burying-place: "[w]ho could doubt that romance and poetry dwell in the heart of the Indian who chose this for the resting-place of his dead" (Hubbard 159). Both accounts depict the stereotyped Native as a romantic artist, and such a depiction harmonizes with Schäffer's view of the ideal beauty of the wilderness. The Native's participation in the wilderness "whole" is her human ideal from which white civilization has departed and fallen.

The idealized Indigene is not the only image of Native peoples Schäffer uses in her account, however. She also reflects on and recreates the prehistoric existence of the

Indigenes in the following passage, based on her discovery of an old Native camp:

> [i]t was all such a pathetic story, such a bit of the savage life before the days of reservations, when whole families took to the trail for the fall hunt, the bucks to bring down the game, the squaws to skin the animals and smoke the meat; the children to play at the life which for their elders held such little joy. Yes, a deserted stage, the actors gone and for many of them "lights out." (139)

This portrayal of the Aboriginal past as pitiful and joyless "before the days of reservations" (before the arrival of white people and "history") suggests that prior to the Natives' interaction with Europeans, Native lifeways were more animal-like ("the savage life [of]...bucks...[and] squaws") and certainly less than ideal. Not only does Schäffer presume to summarize a past at which she can only guess, she also reifies that past as a dramatic play, a "pathetic story" played out by actors now gone. As narrator, she displays the superior attitude of the imperialist perspective in this mimetic passage, an attitude which conflicts with her idealization and which differs significantly from Schäffer's actual relations with Native people.

Her pragmatic and humanizing approach to the Aboriginal people she encounters adds a personal, diegetic dimension to

Schäffer's narrative outlook towards Natives. Regarding the simplicity of washing in the wilderness, she initially concedes she would not go so far as the Aboriginals, who "[appear] to use no water at all" (95), and she notes the dirty faces and "grimy paws" (175, 176) of the Native women she meets. Yet she shakes their hands and admires how "small and dainty" those hands are (176). Schäffer and Adams also take the opportunity to visit with the Kootenai Plains Native women at length, enjoying a photography session one afternoon in which the women and children all participate with reported pleasure and willingness. As a comment on this occasion, Schäffer remarks: "[w]hen I hear those 'who know,' speak of the sullen, stupid Indian, I wish they could have been on hand the afternoon the white squaws visited the red ones with their cameras. There were no men to disturb the peace..." (176, 178). Schäffer's identification of herself and Adams as squaws is an act of narrative levelling and inclusiveness. By recognizing their common womanhood with the Native women, the narrator indirectly reproves those who would cast racist slurs on Aboriginal peoples. Schäffer at this point contrasts the so-called knowledge of such racist commentators with her own first-hand knowledge of the Natives she interacts with on a personal level. She calls herself "their white sister" (176) and deconstructs the stereotype of "the sullen, stupid Indian" by describing the Native women as being similar to their white counterparts.

Schäffer's own communication with Aboriginal people transforms the narrative perspective from a distant superiority and impersonal valorization to a close identification with Native people. Two months into their travels during the summer of 1908, Schäffer's party dines with a half-blood Native and a French prospector, and she wonders "if a stranger stepping up suddenly could have told red man from white, so sun-burned were we all and so worn and weather-beaten our clothes" (334). From Schäffer's perspective, at least in this instance, wilderness travel levels races and frees one from many of the other cultural constraints that can prevent one from truly enjoying life.

II. TRANSFORMING RAMBLES AND ARTISTIC WANDERINGS: ANNA JAMESON AND PAUL KANE'S INTERSECTING NARRATIVES

Anna Brownell Jameson's "'fragments' of a journal addressed to a friend" published as Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada (1838) is a superbly written artistic work which also makes discoveries about the freeing possibilities in wilderness travel (v). Its distinct epistolary tone "foreground[s] the diegetic dimension of narrative" (Porter 60) to a degree that only William Butler's text equals among the narratives discussed in this study. The text works as a female performance for a female audience, and it appropriates certain places within the male world as spaces for feminine experience and articulation (as many other women's travel texts do). Particularly, the interaction of the woman traveller with her surroundings and with the people she encounters becomes the site of a feminine reconfiguration of the travel experience.

Published two decades later, Paul Kane's Wanderings of an Artist (1859) is a fascinating articulation of the white male traveller's imperialist (mimetic) vision of the British North American wilderness and its inhabitants, a vision with which Jameson takes issue both implicitly and explicitly. For this reason, I believe the texts work effectively in juxtaposition, although I will discuss Jameson's account at length first.

The 'Preface' indicates how aware Jameson is of her reading audience; acting as editor, she writes that she has removed much of the "personal" material in the book (vi), presumably for reasons of marketing as well as, perhaps, for privacy. Since the book is "more particularly addressed to my own sex" (vii), she appeals to women to approve her writing (and avoids the potential criticism of men); women are often the focus of the narrative interest. The omission of personal information in Jameson's narrative parallels the omissions I discuss regarding Hubbard and Schäffer's texts. However, Jameson's written admission of her editing practices displays the greatest degree of diegesis among the three narrators. Her apologetic stance in the Preface about such "irrelevant matter" (vii) as her personal feeling seems based in the commonly accepted notion of feminine delicacy, namely, that women must not make themselves the focus of public attention. For example, there is no direct mention of her husband in the book, even though she presumably comes to Toronto in mid-winter to join him and seats herself in the parliament "among the wives of the officials" (1.152).[14] The text's omission of information about her husband, mysterious enough when she writes generally in the plural that "we now get on very well" (1.267), becomes more blatant when the author suggests that she sighs in her heart for loneliness, and agrees with Colonel Talbot that "it is not good for man to be alone" (2.200). (Quoting the King James

Version of Genesis 2:18, Jameson appropriates the biblical principle for "man" to describe her own female experience of aloneness.) Her choice to travel alone (that is, without her husband) for two months (2.8) and her allusions to her previous unhappiness hint at marital discontent without ever addressing the subject (see 1.97, for example, on how to kill a woman's heart, and 1.259). (In her letters to Ottilie von Goethe, Jameson writes, "conjugal miseries are not good to write about or talk about" [Needler 87].) In spite of her evident wish to avoid such personal matters, they are certainly connected with Jameson's motivation for and experience of travel. She finds the society life of Toronto boring and dreary, draining her both physically and mentally (1.21, 36, 38, 107, 171-72), while her travels bring her renewed pleasure and zest for living (3.25, 57, 199). As she notes in the Preface, it is the "thread of sentiment" that strings her writing together (vii)--personal feeling lends coherence to the whole. I argue further that there would be no Winter Studies and Summer Rambles at all without "sentiment," that the writing is completely coloured by the author's vision of the people she meets and places she visits.

It is Anna Jameson's personal vision that produces such descriptions as that of various birds "sporting over the bosom of the lake" (1.292), of the "boundless sea of forest" (2.171), and of the lake "rocking and sleeping in the sunshine, quiet as a cradled infant" (2.38). She sees with the eye of the educated European woman of taste, applying her previously learned principles of judgement and appreciation to a completely new landscape and set of circumstances. However, Jameson's narrator, unlike Kane's (which I discuss below), is also very aware that "when a traveller goes to a foreign country, it is always with a set of preconceived notions concerning it, to which he fits all he sees" (1.277). This self-reflexive recognition (possibly also suggesting a specifically male traveller's preconceptions, since most published travel accounts before 1838 are by men) demonstrates her readiness, in fact, to break new ground, to formulate new ideas about the nature and character of Canada, and about women's places in the world.

Jameson's own plans and methods of travel come under public scrutiny because of her sex; thus as self-defensive and self-defining measures, she makes what are often humorous, reflexive comments about women in the wilderness. One such comment occurs at a point when she is describing the unpleasant odour of the Chippewas gathered in council at Mackinaw: "[t]he truth is, that a woman of very delicate and fastidious habits must learn to endure some very disagreeable things, or she had best stay at home" (3.144). Jameson learns by experience that she stands to lose or gain depending on whether or not she chooses to widen her notions of what is acceptable, and even possible, for a woman to endure. Her comment, in fact, instructs her entire female reading audience that gender-controlled opportunities for experience are more accessible if a woman is willing to shift her expectations and to leave the safety of home. Jameson sets up her own flexibility and courage in travel as an example for other women to consider.

The issue of the woman traveller, and Jameson's diegetic reflections on the positions of white women in European society are politically radical for their time. Pining through the Canadian winter months, Jameson writes, "[l]et but the spring come again, and I will take to myself wings and fly off to the west!--But will spring ever come?" (1.171). Her yearning for the freedom to move at will leads into a more detailed examination of the "dangerous" and "wicked" prescription placed on women to be "'happy wives and mothers'...as if for women there existed only one destiny--one hope, one blessing, one object, one passion in existence" (1.206).[15] Jameson, like Hubbard and Schäffer who travel nearly seven decades later, refuses to become a "hostage in the home" (Welter 151). Her concern for a wider sphere for women, acted out in her own summer rambles through Upper Canada, is a concern for moral and intellectual strength:

> women need in these times [this age of civilization, both in Upper Canada and Europe] character beyond

> everything else; the qualities which will enable them to endure and to resist evil; the self-governed, the cultivated, active mind, to protect and to maintain ourselves. (1.205-6)

The many women who are neither mothers nor wives, or who do not find themselves in happy circumstances, Jameson argues, need the freedom to find other resources "to find content and independence when denied love and happiness" (1.207). That Jameson has determined to be independent, at least, is evident when she relates her intention to travel through the Canadian wilderness:

> [t]o undertake such a journey _alone_ is rash perhaps--yet alone it must be achieved, I find, or not at all; I shall have neither companion nor man-servant, nor _femme de chambre_, nor even a "little foot-page" to give notice of my fate, should I be swamped in a bog, or eaten up by a bear, or scalped, or disposed of in some strange way; but shall I leave this fine country without seeing anything of its great characteristic features?--and, above all, of its aboriginal inhabitants? Moral courage will not be wanting, but physical strength may fail, and obstacles which I cannot anticipate or overcome, may turn me back; yet the more I consider my project--wild though it be--the more I feel determined to persist. (2.8-9)

Her self-portrayal as a kind of women's intrepid explorer inflates the sense of danger in her journeys, but at the same time acknowledges the real risks of her position as an unprotected woman. Again, as with Hubbard, the perception of danger serves to heighten the woman traveller's sense of self-determination and strength.

Later, having endured wagon-rides over extremely rough roads (2.223-24), nights spent sleeping on hard rock, and mosquito attacks "enough to make Philosophy go hang herself, and Patience swear like a Turk or a trooper" (3.168), Jameson reaches her crowning achievement when she braves a canoe ride down the cataract at Sault Ste. Marie (3.198-99). Her fascination with the rapids and her "giddy, breathless, delicious excitement" (3.199) while riding them is much like Hubbard's (Hubbard 219-20). Both women enter into one of the wildest of wilderness experiences, and for Jameson the experience changes her identity. Apparently she is the first European woman to take the plunge at the Sault, and significantly she advises others to follow in her steps; thereby, she opens up the landscape for women to move with boldness and freedom.

Jameson's narrative not only shows her being transformed by her travel activities, though; she also experiences some profound changes in perspective as she becomes acquainted with the Chippewa people in the Huron region. Her observations of these people are most telling regarding her perspective as a white, European, upper-class woman, although some of Jameson's published observations are significantly different from those expressed in letters to her closest friend. When at first Jameson's "previous impressions of the independent children of the forest are...disturbed" (1.26), she reveals not only her ignorance, but also her predisposition to find herself superior to Aboriginals. Her attitude of superiority is quite plain as she describes in her letter to Ottilie von Goethe the three Natives who come to visit her in Toronto:

> [t]hey were tall strong men, habited in coats of Blanket and caps of the same, such as children make of a sheet of paper, and a quantity of coal black bushy hair, small eyes, and what we should call vulgar but expressive faces, vulgar from the high cheek bones, small forheads [sic] and want of mind. (Needler 72)

In her public account (which she elsewhere calls "my Indian notes" [Needler 95]), Jameson writes of the same men that the "desperate resignation in their swarthy countenances, their squalid, dingy habiliments, and their forlorn story, filled [her] with pity" (1.25). She initially sees the Natives as vulgar in appearance and childlike in development because these are the (European racist) representations of Aboriginals with which she is familiar. However, as she becomes acquainted with Native individuals, whom she initially calls "specimens...of that fated race" (1.26), Jameson reveals a crucial shift in attitude (just as

Schäffer does, discussed above)--she begins to respect many of the Aboriginal ways of living, and to compare European "civilization" and its destructive effects on Aboriginal life.

This transformed outlook, subtly evident in her travel book, noticeably influences Jameson's published account of her first contact with Natives in Winter Studies. In fact, she seems to soften deliberately the harshness of her original judgements of her Native visitors. (I believe the alteration is deliberate because the journal-origin of the book would likely have recorded her observations as she related them to Ottilie von Goethe, and, if not, her detailed remembrances would arguably have retained such a strong impression as was recorded above in the letter.) Instead of the condescending racism that marks her letter to Ottilie, particularly evident when Anna describes for her friend a potential Indian husband (Needler 73),[16] Anna notes in Winter Studies the melancholy impression left with her by the Natives, her feelings of disappointment and pity, and most importantly, an openness to "become better acquainted" with some Native people and their ways (1.26). The retrospective, writing Jameson also portrays herself as the scientific (and therefore unbiased) observer, who at this point sees the Indians as "specimens" and has had "difficulty...forming a correct estimate of the people, and more particularly of the true position of their women"

(1.26, 27). She has the opportunity to form a better estimate, and does so, as a result of leaving the white society of Winter Studies and embarking on her Summer Rambles during which she sees Native people for herself outside of civilization. Knowing what she knows, particularly through the friendship of several Chippewa women (Mrs. MacMurray, Mrs. Schoolcraft, and Mrs. Johnston), Jameson chooses not to reproduce in her book the unconsidered racism of her first interactions with Natives, and rather creates the purportedly objective persona that elicits praise from Jameson's modern biographer, Clara Thomas (see Love and Work 241n.2).

In spite of what I believe were Jameson's conscious attempts to eradicate prejudice from her Winter Studies and Summer Rambles, the narrative records an unresolved tension between Jameson's European-influenced perspective and her first-hand understanding of Native peoples. In a number of passages the narrator mimetically reflects much of the romanticism and fatalism about Natives that is linked to Ronald Meek's four-stages theory. Jameson declares that she thinks Natives inferior to European peoples because the former are "untamable"; she could never imagine Mohawks and Chippewas as city-dwellers (2.273, 274). After recalling some of the historical conflicts between Indian and European groups, Jameson also writes:

> [t]hese attempts of a noble and a fated race, to

> oppose, or even to delay for a time, the rolling westward of the great tide of civilisation, are like efforts to dam up the rapids of Niagara. The moral world has its laws, fixed as those of physical nature. The hunter must make way before the agriculturist, and the Indian must learn to take the bit between his teeth, and set his hand to the ploughshare, or perish. (2.240)

Both the depiction of an inevitable change in modes of subsistence and the depiction of Aboriginals as slaves to the new agricultural machine reveal Jameson's complete acceptance of (if not agreement with) the subversion of Native lifeways by European ones.

Yet, even as she muses about the future of Native peoples, Jameson continuously questions the values of white European culture and reveals the antimimetic persona of her text. Although she believes ultimately in the providential ordination of progress, through which "progressive civilisation [brings] progressive happiness" (2.173), Jameson still wonders, "is that [future] NOW better than this present NOW?" (2.172). Her scepticism is well-founded, as she observes that

> [w]herever the Christian comes, he brings the Bible in one hand, disease, corruption, and the accursed fire-water, in the other; or flinging down the book of peace, he boldly and openly proclaims that might gives

> right, and substitutes the sabre and rifle for the slower desolation of starvation and whisky. (2.250)

Jameson here "illuminates the tensions between aboriginal and European cultures in Upper Canada" (Monkman, "Primitivism" 85); a comparable although less explicit comment by Hearne also suggests that white society has detrimental effects on Native peoples (83, qtd. on p.11 above).

In addition, Jameson uncovers her own inner conflicts fueled by her observations. She compares, for instance, the Native and European methods of warfare and concludes: "[i]f war be unchristian and barbarous, then war as a science is more absurd, unnatural, unchristian, than war as a passion" (3.195). Furthermore, Jameson questions the entire notion of "civilisation" as being an improvement on Native ways of life:

> if our advantages of intellect and refinement are not to lead on to farther moral superiority, I prefer the Indians on the score of consistency; they are what they profess to be, and we are not what we profess to be. They profess to be warriors and hunters, and are so; we profess to be Christians, and civilised--are we so? (3.196-97)

Her disturbing questions bring into focus the European image-making to which many imperialist travel narratives of British North America contributed.

One such narrative with widespread influence is Paul Kane's Wanderings of an Artist (1859), the published version of his travels between Toronto and Vancouver Island in 1845-1848.[17] As Kane explains on his dedicatory page, the account is "designed to illustrate the manners and customs of the Indian Tribes of British America" (ix). Following such a specific declaration of intent, the mimetic narrator reveals a great deal of his own cultural locatedness by the manner of his illustration. The published narrative has a curious mixture of unbiased close detail about some individuals, particularly those of various Aboriginal tribes, and paternalistic generalizations that may easily be called racist by today's standards. Since I.S. MacLaren has given evidence that an imperialist narrative persona was added in the rewriting of Kane's original journal for publication, I will focus here on that predominating persona rather than attempt to discuss all the different tones in the narrative ("'I Came To Rite'" 14).

Many ethnographic descriptions in the narrative of various Native tribes, such as the Chinooks, the Cowlitz, and the Clal-lums, contribute to Kane's general depiction of Aboriginals as savages. Heather Dawkins notes several characteristics applied to Natives which repeatedly appear in the text, namely, "laziness, filthiness, uncontrollable gambling, and alcohol addiction" (26). The narrator gives examples of these and other more violent or destructive habits combined with expressions of disgust and repugnance, to establish his own moral distance from the people he observes. (At times he also establishes physical distance, such as the occasion when he "gladly quitted this disgusting scene of dissipation" consisting of numerous drunken "idlers" [21, 20].) In some cases, Kane recounts in detail the rituals of a tribe which mutilates or kills its own or other people (167-70); these depictions reinforce his sense of moral superiority, and yet capitalize on the titillating and thus marketable nature of such information.

From Kane's attention to women's roles in many Aboriginal groups arise some of his most pointed mimetic judgements regarding Aboriginal lifeways. He remarks at various points that the Native women's work is "drudgery" (261) and that women are regarded with far less esteem than they are in "civilized" nations (95). A very interesting comparison arises between Kane, Hearne, and Jameson on this matter, for while Kane and Hearne take similarly censorious views on the status of Native women, Jameson regards the women's position as part of a naturally balanced way of life. Two illustrations of Kane's perspective appear as follows in his account:

> [regarding the "Ojibbeways" round Lake Huron,] [a]s amongst all other tribes of North American Indians, the women do all the household work, carrying wood, putting up lodges, and cooking. (6)

> It must not be supposed that Indians look on the softer sex with feelings at all resembling those entertained towards them in civilized life; in fact, they regard them more in the light of slaves than as companionable beings. As might be expected, this is most evident in their treatment of aged women, whom they consider as scarcely fit to live. (95)

The perspective offered by Kane's comments is similar to that in Hearne's description of the Chipewyan women's lives as "one continued scene of drudgery..." (336). Hearne also writes:

> [i]t is a melancholy truth, and a disgrace to the little humanity of which those people [Chipewyan] are possessed, to think, that in times of want the poor women always come off short; and when real distress approaches, many of them are permitted to starve, when the males are amply provided for. (295)

In contrast, Jameson's comment is a direct refutation of the perspective represented in Hearne's and Kane's narratives:

> [t]here is one subject on which all travellers in these regions--all who have treated of the manners and modes of life of the north-west tribes, are accustomed to expatiate with great eloquence and indignation, which they think it incumbent on the gallantry and chivalry of Christendom to denounce as constituting the true badge and distinction of barbarism and heathenism,

> opposed to civilisation and Christianity:--I mean the treatment and condition of their women. The women, they say, are "drudges," "slaves," "beasts of burthen," victims, martyrs, degraded, abject, oppressed; that not only the cares of the household and maternity, but the cares and labours proper to the men, fall upon them; and they seem to consider no expression of disapprobation, and even abhorrence, too strong for the occasion; and if there be any who should feel inclined to modify such objurgations, or speak in excuse or mitigation of the fact, he might well fear that the publication of such opinions would expose him to have his eyes scratched out, (metaphorically,) or die, in every female coterie, in every review, the death of Orpheus or Pentheus. (Jameson 3.298-99)

Jameson goes on to examine the particulars of the Native woman's position and concludes that within Native (Chippewa) society, a woman is at least in no false position relative to "the state of society, and the means of subsistence" (3.304); she compares the equal division of labour among Native women with the highly unequal class system in "this our Christendom" (3.306), placing the latter in a most unfavourable light. The important point here is that European ways of seeing Native peoples have often been racist strategies to defend and to establish superior status for European customs; just such a strategy can be found at work in Kane’s narrative.

Nonetheless, as Hearne does, Kane still accepts the Native women’s work on his behalf during his travels. Upon reaching Fort Assiniboine, Kane recounts that "[o]ne of the women devoted herself to the rather arduous task of satisfying [his] appetite" (252). The pragmatic reality of his travelling circumstances makes it easy for Kane to take advantage of the services offered to him.

Now Kane’s specific motive for travelling across the British North American wilderness throws additional light on his mimetic narrative stance. He portrays himself as the gentleman traveller-artist with a unique commission to reproduce the images of various Indigenous people, in sketches and paintings, for various white upper-class British men (lxii-lxiv). Lawrence J. Burpee points out in the Introduction to the Radisson Society edition of 1925, quoting Charles W. Jefferys, that "though the subjects chosen were Canadian, they were, quite naturally, at first seen through European eyes, and executed in European style and with European technique" (xliii). Of course, the European vision is central not only to Kane’s visual art, but also to his written narrative. The illustrations which accompany his narrative, in conjunction with the written account, mirror back to imperial Great Britain a safe but savage Native other over which imperialist control is necessary and established. Together, the pictures and text form "an imperialist discourse" (Dawkins 27).

Kane's position as an artist is quite unique among the travellers of the north-west, and establishes him as a figure of power with regards to the Natives who have never seen graphic art before (MacLaren, "'I Came To Rite'" 7). Wherever he travels, the Aboriginals seem universally to regard him as a kind of "great medicine-man" with mysterious abilities because of the likenesses he sketches (42). Although Kane generally represents the Native superstitions he hears about as evidence of the ignorant state of the people, he uses their belief systems to his own advantage, either to get the sketches he wants, or simply to survive. Among the west-coast Indigenes, Kane comments that he "was indebted to the superstitious fears which they attached to [his] pictures for the safety and ease with which [he] mingled amongst them" (149-50). In another village, following the Indigenes' anxious inquiries as to his loyalties he promises to "be their friend" as long as the villagers treat him well (159). Thus Kane exposes himself as a mimetic artist: he not only has the power to portray the Natives to European civilization, but he also gains the power to portray himself to the Natives in a way that best suits his purposes.[18]

As a travelling artist, Kane often plays the role of a tourist, both sketching pictures of his surroundings, and collecting souvenirs. On one occasion he determines to take a Flathead skull from a sacred burial-ground, knowing that he runs "no small risk" in doing so (180). He describes his procurement of the skull as a daring exploit which could endanger the lives of his entire party should the local Pacific Cascade Natives find out. His wish to possess the skull outweighs any other consideration of human life, and yet he boastfully depicts the acquisition as an act of courage. Ironically, Kane also describes the context of thievery which enables him to obtain his souvenir:

> I...took advantage of the [Hudson's Bay Company] men being busy watching the [Cascade] Indians to keep them from stealing, and the Indians being equally busy in watching for an opportunity to steal, and succeeded in getting a very perfect skull smuggled in among my traps without the slightest suspicion. (180)

Kane portrays the Cascade Natives as a nuisance for their propensity to steal, yet he proves himself to be as much a thief as any Native is rumoured to have been. His desire to collect and make a curiosity out of Native articles is another typical act of appropriation by non-Native travellers.[19]

Jameson is certainly aware of and scorns the penchant of many European travellers to collect physical objects from Native culture; she calls the Island of Mackinaw "a little bit of fairy ground, just such a thing as some of our amateur travellers would like to pocket and run away with (if they could)--and set down in the midst of one of their fish-ponds--cave of skulls, wigwams, Indians, and all" (3.68). This proposed collection, prominently displayed in a European garden, would serve both to confirm European control over Native lands and possessions, and to reinforce the popular and self-reassuring European notion of the demise of Native peoples. Certainly, Kane's Flathead skull is just such a piece of cultural memorialism.

From the evidence of her published narrative, Jameson is more interested in collecting Chippewa songs and stories than objects, and she prints some of each in her narrative (3.88-118; 218-21; 222-27).[20] She writes (to Ottilie von Goethe), "I am...bent on bringing you an Indian song, if I can catch one" (3.59). She also records many of the peculiarities of the Chippewa language and culture as valuable discoveries of interest (3.80-84). For Jameson, these cultural acquisitions are more than mementos of her visit, though; they are treated as personal gifts from her friends, the Schoolcrafts.

Furthermore, she does not simply take from Native culture as Kane does; Jameson also demonstrates a desire to partake of Native culture, perhaps because Natives represent the "natural freedom" for which she longs (Goldie 23). She records the names given her by various Chippewa people as though to signify her own indigenization. The Chippewas on the island of Mackinaw acknowledge Jameson's friendly but initially condescending relations with them by giving her a Chippewa name, Ogima-quay, which means "the white or fair English chieftainess" (3.135); the Chippewas identify her with them in the name (by using their language), yet also set her apart as other, English, and therefore, superior. In Sault Ste. Marie, the local Chippewas call her "O,daw,yaun,gee, ...the fair moon which changes her place" (3.200), signifying both her European origin and her transient status as traveller. After running the Sault rapids, Jameson earns herself a new Chippewa name: "Wah,sàh,ge,wah,no,quà" or "the woman of the bright foam" (3.200). This last Chippewa name, which she writes she greatly prefers, makes Jameson known by her courageous act. She claims herself to have been "a Chippewa born" (3.200) upon running the rapids, and names Mrs. Johnston as her "Indian mother" (3.242); Jameson thereby assumes an indigenous re-birth.

Kane's narrative persona, by virtue of his imperialist commission, never reveals the kind of sympathy and personal interest that Jameson's account does. Her careful reflexiveness produces the image of a transforming and empowered woman traveller, while Kane's careful artistry reproduces the mimetic imperialist discourse that maintains its own structures of power.

Both personal revelation and imperialist aims find expression in the final text I discuss here, William Butler's The Great Lone Land. His narrative reflexiveness dramatically displays the traveller's vision of the discontented European self.

III. CONFLICTS OF NARRATIVE INTEREST IN WILLIAM BUTLER: REFLEXIVENESS IN THE CONTACT ZONE

William Francis Butler's The Great Lone Land: Narrative of Travel and Adventure in the North-West of America (1872) presents itself as a particularly diegetic text by creating a reflexive narrator persona from its preface onwards. The self-consciousness that initially characterizes the narrative voice sets a tone of confidence with the reader, and Butler addresses the reader regularly throughout the text.[21] His stated intent is not to offer the account as an objective report of the people and places he has seen, but rather to state his opinions regarding the young dominion of Canada and its adjacent western territories, from the perspective of a discontented British officer appointed "Justice of the Peace for Rupert's Land and the North-west" (201). In spite of his official capacity, Butler finds reason to decry and abhor the ways in which European settlers and white civilization treat the Aboriginal peoples of the Northwest. As Jameson does, he predicts an inevitable future of subjugation and the eventual disappearance of all Natives in the wake of white civilization and settlement. However, the focus of his judgements shifts between Native interests and Euroimperialist interests. He is, in fact, carrying out several imperial commissions on his travels, having been sent in June of 1870 to bring intelligence to Colonel Wolseley and his military Expedition on its way to quell the Red River Rebellion (37), and then proceeding westward to collect information about the smallpox epidemic (inadvertently inflicted by whites on the Natives), to deliver medicines to the forts for the treatment of the disease, and to confer on two gentlemen the office of Justice of the Peace (203-04, 201). With this official commitment, Butler himself signifies the imperialist discourse of an expanding Europe. His narrative, correspondingly, contains elements of the imperialist vision which are conveyed through a more distant, mimetic narrative voice than the one first introduced. As a result, Butler's narrative is the most discordant of all the narratives I discuss, and attests to the conflicted nature of the traveller's position.

In his Preface, Butler refers to the circumstances of producing the book and explains his narrative position, in defense against the possible censure of the reader. His explanation is brief, however:

> [a]lmost every page of this book has been written amid the ever-present pressure of those feelings which spring from a sense of unrequited labour, of toil and service theoretically and officially recognized, but practically and professionally denied. (xv-xvi)

While the narrator refuses to explain further the cause of his feelings, and deflects the "personal" away from his travel narrative much as Anna Jameson attempts to do, he acknowledges the need at least to "account in some manner, if account be necessary, for peculiarities of language or opinion" in the text (xvi). From the outset, Butler recognizes the bias from which he writes, and signals to the reader that the facts presented in his account come filtered through the medium of his disillusioned persona; this is a self-proclaimedly prejudiced text.

Furthermore, Butler playfully satirizes his self-consciousness in the text, stating, "but for me, it will be necessary to come forth in the full glory of the individual 'I,' and to retain it until we part" (6). At moments of such satire, Butler's account seems to foreshadow in a consciously literary way the post-modern denigration of the subjective "I," yet such is not generally the case throughout his narrative. In fact, in spite of the narrator's overt diegesis, Butler's text presents a series of assumptions and assertions which remain unquestioned and unexplained by the narrative persona. These segments of mimetic narration curiously undermine the attention Butler gives to the narrator's point of view; thus I believe there are, alternately, mimetic and diegetic discourses competing for expression in the narrative (reflecting back on the narrative, I see them as simultaneous), which arise out of Butler's conflicting official and personal visions.

A notable component of the narrator's persona is his rebellion or resistance to the European norm for North American travel writing. Butler very conspicuously refuses to follow the established patterns of the travel-book genre. Thus he also refuses to cater to the readership of imperialist Britain. This refusal is evident in his comments on visiting Niagara Falls: "[t]o leave out Niagara when you can possibly bring it in would be as much against the stock-book of travel as to omit the duel, the steeple-chase, or the escape from the mad bull in a thirty-one-and-sixpenny fashionable novel" (26); having seen the falls in winter, minus the crowds of tourists he dislikes, Butler only states, "[w]ell, Niagara was worth seeing then--and the less we say about it, perhaps, the better" (27). Not only is the narrator blatantly asserting his own editorial privileges, omitting the descriptions that his contemporary travel-book readers have come to expect, but he is also revealing the nature of himself as traveller in the text, a somewhat misanthropic traveller who prefers the "natural" to the humanly-created commercial elements in the Niagara landscape. During the height of the tourist season, Butler declares, "Niagara was a place to be instinctively shunned" (26). But this is a man who also admits (while in the process of writing) that he is looking for solitude, due to his unexplained disappointing experiences with some person(s) in the past (that is, previous to his writing the narrative account, but perhaps during or following his time in Canada). In the preface he states self-consolingly, "[i]n the solitudes of the Great Lone Land...the trifles that spring from such disappointments will cease to trouble" (xvi). During his search for space away from the society that has personally failed him, it is no wonder that Butler the traveller and travel-writer (as Hubbard, Schäffer, and Jameson also do) shuns any signs of that society in the vast and spacious New World.

His dissatisfaction with European ways is most evident when Butler addresses the subject of the Native peoples in the Northwest. Including the reader in a narrative statement of intent, Butler acts as travel-guide:

> [o]ur course...lies west. We will trace the onward stream of empire in many portions of its way; we will reach its limits, and pass beyond it into the lone spaces which yet silently await its coming; and farther still, where the solitude knows not of its approach and the Indian still reigns in savage supremacy. (25)

The image of the prehistoric Native is for Butler connected to those same utopian solitary spaces to which he wants to escape. He even denies the facts of Manitoba and British Columbia's joining Confederation in 1870 and 1871, respectively, when he declares "the Indian still reigns," perhaps in order to preserve his utopian view of the uncontaminated (because as yet unsettled) Northwest. Thus

Native people become part of the traveller's positive vision of the Northwest, blended into the landscape and unobtrusively "savage" (that is, not civilized) so as to preserve his sense of aloneness.

Ronald Meek notes two common moral judgements made by European Renaissance writers regarding Aboriginal North American society (one of which I have already referred to in my discussion of Schäffer's narrative), and Butler most noticeably aligns with the first stated here, which could be termed cultural primitivism:

> [o]n the one hand, those writers who were dissatisfied with certain aspects of European society--its over-refinement, for example, its hypocrisy, or its system of ranks--could emphasise the simplicity, honesty, and equality of American society, holding the latter up (to a greater or lesser extent) as an ideal to be aimed at by Europe. On the other hand, those who admired contemporary European society--its diversity, the high level of its intellectual attainments, or its high material standard of living--could emphasise the dullness and uniformity of American life, the stupidity and cruelty of the savages, and their extremely low standard of living. (39)

Butler's narrative records numerous primitivist statements which glorify Natives as noble savages and reflect unfavourably on his own culture. Describing his first night camping together with the four Natives in his crew, he reminisces with undisguised sentimentality:

> [a]s I sat watching from a little distance this picture so full of all the charms of the wild life of the voyageur and the Indian, I little marvelled that the red child of the lakes and the woods should be loth to quit such scenes for all the luxuries of our civilization. (140)

This passage contains sentiments similar both to Hearne's admission of the negative impact of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Native people in contact with it (82; qtd. on p.11 above), as well as to Jameson's observations on the inflictions of "the Christian" on Native culture (2.250; qtd on p.64 above). According to all three texts, contact with white civilization contaminates Native peoples and their ways of life. Butler, recognizing his position as outsider and furthermore as part of the encroaching European civilization, idealizes the Natives and their landscape; he "pictures" them as an other (people/place) to which he can temporarily escape from the ills (sardonically termed "luxuries") of the European self.

Butler's escape includes a sense of getting in touch with his own prehistoric rootedness, which Terry Goldie terms the "desire for indigenization" (146). Unlike Jameson, though, who embraces an indigenized identity through her Chippewa friends, Butler identifies his indigenous instincts as belonging to a time in the distant past:

> [the journey] had...many moments of keen pleasure, moments filled with those instincts of that long-ago time before our civilization and its servitude had commenced--that time when, like the Arab and the Indian, we were all rovers over the earth....man, in the midst of his civilization, instinctively goes back to some half-hidden reminiscence of the forest and the wilderness in which his savage forefathers dwelt. (324)

This passage depicting the solitary intrepid male explorer closely echoes another written by Charles Darwin in his travel account, The Voyage of the Beagle (1839):

> [i]t has been said, that the love of the chase is an inherent delight in man--a relic of instinctive passion. If so, I am sure the pleasure of living in the open air, with the sky for a roof and the ground for a table, is part of the same feeling; it is the savage returning to his wild and native habits. (qtd. in Porter 155)

Neither Butler nor Darwin acknowledges in these passages the existence in their own age of Indigenous people, as though the Indigene were only a figure representing a forgotten past. Indeed, Butler calls the Northwest the "Great Lone Land" (275) because in spite of its Indigenous population he feels alone. Even while travelling with four Native crew men, he describes his journey to meet the Expedition as "solitary" (152, 166); he feels himself living apart from the Natives, and seems to interact very little with them. When he reaches the prairie, Butler believes himself in a place of utter timelessness:

> no solitude can equal the loneliness of a night-shadowed prairie: one feels the stillness, and hears the silence.... This ocean has no past--time has been nought to it; and men have come and gone, leaving behind them no track, no vestige, of their presence. (199-200)

For Butler in such moments, the Northwest and its inhabitants belong to a prehistoric, and even ahistoric, existence, far removed from his own present existence.[22]

In strange contrast to this identification with the prehistoricity of Natives, Butler also displays an attitude of sentimental concern and paternalism for the Natives whose demise he sees as inevitable. This aspect of his narrative voice somewhat resembles the elements of sympathy in women travellers' accounts towards the Aboriginal people they meet. Hubbard, for example, notices the "sad and wistful" faces of the Nascaupee people (210), and regrets for the Montagnais group that she had not "known of their need" for food, since her party could have brought some caribou meat with them (194). Jameson similarly narrates that Mrs.

MacMurray "thanked me feelingly for the interest I took in her own fated race" (2.35), and that Mrs. Schoolcraft's trials "interest all my womanly sympathies" (3.69). Butler's identification with the downtrodden Natives exhibits a comparable concern, although his expression is never so individual and personal as the women's. One of his laments names an imaginary Native chief: "[p]oor Red Cloud! in spite of thy towering form and mighty strength, the dollar is mightier still, and the fiat has gone forth before which thou and thy braves must pass away from the land!" (68-69). Paul Goetsch investigates the "sentimentalization of whatever [seems] to be natural and primitive" in eighteenth-century travel books and links it to a "not unfounded sceptical attitude toward contemporary civilization and the march of progress" (349). Alongside his expressions of pity, Butler's text records that he believes white civilization is directly responsible for the destruction of the Indigenous population and lifeways.

Furthermore, in his defence of Native peoples, Butler strongly reacts against certain prevalent European stereotypes and thus against the European society that produced them. He sets up a series of general European notions of Native inferiority and expendability, using harsh irony or outright denunciation to criticize such notions. In explaining the European response to the Red River Rebellion, he writes, "[w]ell-informed persons said these insurgents were only Indians..." (4), "only" being the denigrating term implying the Indians' unworthiness of British consideration. In fact, this is the attitude Butler remarks in the Canadian settlement as well, where the European immigrants "either meant to outwit him [the Métis], or they held him of so small account that it mattered little what he thought about" the Europeans' activities (39). He adds, referring to the early settlers, "[o]bstacles of any kind are their peculiar detestation--if it is a tree, cut it down; if it is a savage, shoot it down; if it is a half-breed, force it down. That is about their creed, and it must be said they act up to their convictions" (40). This description of European brutality, couched ironically in logical parallelisms (logic typical of Euroimperialists), at least covertly indicts the newcomers to the Canadian landscape.

In another long passage which I think is worth quoting fully, Butler's condemnation of white settlers is even more explicit:

> never at any time since first the white man was welcomed on the newly-discovered shores of the Western Continent by his red brother, never has such disaster and destruction overtaken these poor, wild, wandering sons of nature as at the moment in which we write.... now the whole white world is leagued in bitter strife against the Indian. The American and Canadian are only

> names that hide beneath them the greed of united Europe. Terrible deeds have been wrought out in that western land; terrible heart-sickening deeds of cruelty and rapacious infamy--have been, I say? no, are to this day and hour, and never perhaps more sickening than now in the full blaze of nineteenth-century civilization. If on the long line of the American frontier, from the Gulf of Mexico to the British boundary, a single life is taken by an Indian, if even a horse or ox be stolen from a settler, the fact is chronicled in scores of journals throughout the United States, but the reverse of the story we never know. The countless deeds of perfidious robbery, of ruthless murder done by white savages out in these Western wilds never find the light of day. The poor red man has no telegraph, no newspaper, no type, to tell his sufferings and his woes. My God, what a terrible tale could I not tell of these dark deeds done by the white savage against the far nobler red man! (240-1)

In this passage, Butler distances himself from the white savagery he denounces, and again demonstrates a paternalistic pity for the "poor, wild, wandering sons of nature" who have none of the technology needed to redress white society's ravages of the Indigene. Butler himself takes up the cause of the Indigene in his writing (at times like some kind of knight rescuing a damsel in distress), and records several of the wrongs done to Native peoples, as though to atone somehow for the obvious injustices he cannot prevent.

He goes on to rewrite the history of contact between North American Natives and white Europeans, and continues his vituperation of the latter's behavior:

> [i]t is the same story from the Atlantic to the Pacific. First the white man was the welcome guest, the honoured visitor; then the greedy hunter, the death-dealing vender of fire-water and poison; then the settler and exterminator--every where it has been the same story. (242)

Again this echoes Jameson's scathing criticisms of white society's corruptions (2.250). Butler identifies Christopher Columbus as "the red man's greatest enemy" for having introduced to North America the merciless white imperialists (244). Furthermore, Butler identifies as the death-dealing instrument the imperialist discourse of degradation and subjugation, a discourse which uses the power of language for its own hypocritical ends. Language is a weapon of imperialist conquest. So Butler writes,

> I know that it is the fashion to hold in derision and mockery the idea that nobility, poetry, or eloquence exist in the wild Indian. I know that with that low brutality which has ever made the Anglo-Saxon race deny its enemy the possession of one atom of generous

> sensibility, that dull enmity which prompted us to paint the Maid of Orleans a harlot, and to call Napoleon the Corsican robber--I know that that same instinct glories in degrading the savage, whose chief crime is that he prefers death to slavery; glories in painting him devoid of every trait of manhood, worthy only to share the fate of the wild beast in the wilderness--to be shot down mercilessly when seen. (243-44)

In his discussion of Europeans' linguistic image-making, Butler includes himself in the collective "us" and thus acknowledges his own participation in that image-making. He attempts, however, to rectify his own portrayal of the Native by stating, "I believe the Blackfeet and their confederates are not nearly so bad as they have been painted" (281), and, furthermore, "I am still of the opinion that under proper management these wild wandering men might be made trusty friends" (282).

In this last statement, Butler's reference to "proper management" suggests that his is ultimately still a European vision. His denunciation of European intrusions into Native culture does not signify, for him, the necessity of white withdrawal from Native territories. His position is profoundly contradictory, just as his criticism of imperialist conquest in _The Great Lone Land_ conflicts with his official report to Adams Archibald, Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, printed in an Appendix to Butler's narrative (355-86). In this report, Butler recommends the appointment of a Civil Magistrate and resident law enforcement officers --the executors of imperialist jurisdiction--as well as the "extinguishment of the Indian title, within certain limits" in the Saskatchewan River region, in order to encourage white settlement (381). Butler cannot extract from his vision "the eye scanning prospects...looking at prospects in the temporal sense--possibilities of a Eurocolonial future coded as resources to be developed, surpluses to be traded, towns to be built" (Pratt 61). Such scanning of prospects actually recurs regularly in Butler's text. Musing about the Lake of the Woods, he comments, "[i]ts shores and islands will be found to abound in minerals whenever civilization reaches them" (159). And of the Saskatchewan River land, he asserts it is "destined one day or other to fill its place in the long list of lands whose surface yields back to man, in manifold, the toil of his brain and hand" (230).

One of the most visionary Euroimperialist passages in Butler's account occurs following the traveller's arrival at the forks of the Saskatchewan River. He invites the reader to survey the region with him (329), in the surveying mode so common to male imperialist texts (the "monarch-of-all-I-survey" trope [Pratt 201]), Hearne's survey of the Coppermine River being one example. Butler, however, sees more promise of future exploitation in the Saskatchewan region than Hearne did in the North:

> [a]s I stood in twilight looking down on the silent rivers merging into the great single stream which here enters the forest region, the mind had little difficulty in seeing another picture, when the river forks would be a busy scene of commerce, and man's labour would waken echoes now answering only the wild things of plain and forest. (331)[23]

With such an imperialist vision of the exploitable Northwest, Butler's credence in the four-stages theory of socio-economic development (as identified by Ronald Meek) is no surprise. In spite of his spirited defence of the Native position in relation to the European immigrants, Butler mimetically identifies the Native hunters' way of life as animal-like and destined to become extinct: "on every side lie spread the relics of the great fight waged by man against the brute creation; all is silent and deserted--the Indian and the buffalo gone, the settler not yet come" (217-18). Butler's laments for the "poor red man" are hypocritical in light of his own, albeit troubled, Euroimperialist vision.

His sporadically diegetic narrator offers the reader so many different, incompatible perspectives regarding Native peoples that his text, more than any other travel narrative I have read, captures the complex dilemma of present-day white residence in North America. (With respect to Native peoples, guilt, racism, heroism, pity, anger, and hopes for indigenization all emerge, primarily in the white non-Native cultures of Canada today.) The split subject which Butler's narrative reflexiveness reveals is ultimately the European subject in the contact zone of the Canadian wilderness--a contact zone which is fraught with the history of Native dispossession and white travellers' discoveries.

For each of the travel narratives I discuss above, the cultural contact zone yields some powerful indicators of the narrator's ideological orientation. However, as useful as the distinctions of diegesis and mimesis are in locating the narrative personae, I find that, finally, the ideologies of each narrator cannot be strictly aligned with one of these narrative styles or the other. Each narrative expression of the travel experience is a unique conglomerate of gendered, imperialist and/or anti-imperialist, reflexive and/or non-reflexive discourses about the relations of the traveller to the wilderness and its peoples.

Notes

1. See Dennis Porter and Marni L. Stanley for other applications of Genette's narrative theory to travel writing.
2. Although the production of printed texts often involves extensive editing and revision, possibly involving people other than the original or stated author, in this study I focus on each text as a product of the traveller's vision and biases, as produced for public consumption. Regarding the discrepancies between travellers' field notes or unpublished journals and their published travel accounts, see I.S. MacLaren, "Exploring Canadian Literature," "'I Came to Rite Thare Portraits,'" "Notes Towards a Reconsideration of Paul Kane's Art and Prose," and "Samuel Hearne's Accounts of the Massacre." Pratt also notes how ghostwriters or publishers added sentiment and eroticism to texts to increase marketability (88). Cynthia Huff identifies the narrative mediator (what I have termed the narrator persona) in the published version as the main difference between the private diary or journal and the public travel account (6); thus the construction of a narrator is part of the text's preparation for publication.
3. Funk and Wagnalls Standard College Dictionary, Canadian edition, 1980.

4. I note that as a contrasting definition, the self-survey involved in reflexive writing often disrupts the ideological surface of unconsidered appropriation, and provides the very antithesis of the imperialist surveyor's attitude.

5. The Bloody Fall massacre account has created legendary status for Hearne's narrative in Canadian literature, and the work as a whole has been eclipsed by this one vividly described episode. See MacLaren, "Exploring Canadian Literature," and "Samuel Hearne's Accounts of the Massacre."

6. Hubbard names Bald Mountain (84), Wapustan River (93), the Lion Heart Mountains (103), Santa Claus Mountain (105), and Resolution Lake (189).

7. Hubbard's published narrative is based on a diary she kept during the journey, which she mentions three times in the text (56, 67, 166) and quotes extensively in one passage (222-25). This diary of 1905 is on microfilm in the National Archives of Canada in Ottawa (Davidson and Rugge 340).

8. Dillon Wallace records his account of the first Hubbard expedition in The Lure of the Labrador Wild (1905) where he defends Leonidas Hubbard from the criticism of foolhardiness and improper preparation (337). The final paragraph of the book quotes Leonidas's request for the survivors to complete the exploratory work,

resulting in Wallace's 1905 expedition related in The Long Labrador Trail (1907). Davidson and Rugge expand on the 1905 competition between the two parties based on Mina Hubbard's and Wallace's journals; curiously, neither of these published narratives acknowledges the other traveller.

9. Mary Schäffer's husband, Dr. Charles Schäffer, died of a heart attack in November 1903. The Schäffers had previously made many trips to the Canadian Rocky Mountains together, mostly to pursue his botanical interests (Hart, A Hunter 6).

10. The usage of "him" as the universal singular pronoun has political implications that Schäffer may or may not have considered when writing the text. Regardless of the author's intent, the presence of "him" in this passage linguistically obliterates female experience and reveals the inadequacy of male-centered grammatical conventions.

11. Old Indian Trails cites numerous male explorers of the Canadian Rockies, such as Allen and Wilcox, Stuttfield, Collie, Woolley, Outram, Fay, Thompson, Coleman, and Habel (4, 5, 46, 50, 55, 63, 67, 69, 75, 81, 82, 84, 92, 94, 97, 101, 110, 133, 185, 191, etc.). Schäffer also quotes from men's narratives, significantly positioning her work in relation to theirs. Her party's meeting with Dr. Coleman near Wilcox Pass is

narrated as an intrusion on a man of great esteem and accomplishment (102).

12. Jameson's text links in here as she describes a group of Natives in Brantford who remind her "of a group of gipsies" (2.108); Natives also represent for Schäffer an existence outside civilization (see my pp.49-51).

13. Cynthia Huff, in "'That Profoundly Female, and Feminist Genre'" and "Writer at Large," discusses in greater detail the place of diaries in women's writing. She notes that the diary form makes important connections between various and diverse parts of life, and may encompass many different patterns of meaning. In the case of Schäffer's narrative, her travel diary is the field text or pre-text from which the published account is derived; however, the diary itself remains in a private sphere quite separate from the public world of Old Indian Trails.

14. Anna Jameson's husband Robert Jameson was the Attorney General of Upper Canada at the time of her arrival in Toronto (December 1836), and was later appointed the first Vice-Chancellor (Thomas, Love and Work 113).

15. Jameson may well have been referring to Hannah More's text, Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education (1803), (or many others like it) which states: "[t]he profession of ladies, to which the bent of *their* instruction should be turned, is that of

daughters, wives, mothers, and mistresses of families" (59).

16. Anna's tongue-in-cheek description to Ottilie reads as follows:

> If you would like an Indian chief for a husband, Ottilie, you have only to come here. Bring with you a few hatchets, a couple of brass Kettles and some strings of Beads. Add a Cask of Brandy, and with such a dowry, you may choose, I can promise you, an Indian Hunter, six feet high and very prettily tattoed, one side of his face covered with red paint and the other painted with soot and oil,--will you have him? You must know how to skin a Buffalo in five minutes, and cut him up, artistement, and how to knock a dog on the head and put him, half dead, into a pot for a stew, and dig Jams. But all this is very easy. And if your Indian is dissatisfied, he will not kick you above six times a day and then sell you to his comrade for a gun or a Brass Kettle. And if he is satisfied with you and loves you, he will give you what is left of his dinner, and be so kind as neither to beat you or sell you. There are some exceptions to this picture; but on the whole good husbands and faithful lovers are not more common in savage than in civilized life, as far as I can

> learn. But in summer when I go up the country I shall see and find out more, and judge as well as I can for myself. (Needler 73)

17. I realize that the sentiments expressed are not necessarily Paul Kane's, as Ian MacLaren has so clearly shown, due to extensive editing of Kane's original notes and manuscript ("'I Came to Rite Thare Portraits'" and "Notes Towards a Reconsideration").
18. Heather Dawkins also remarks that "Kane's gaze, of observation and of knowledge, his sketches, paintings, and writings are deeply implicated in, and constitutive of, power" (27).
19. Mina Hubbard, in fact, also collects at least one article from the Natives she meets; she asks for a beaded band worn by a Nascaupee chief's daughter "as a souvenir of the visit" but is refused and receives instead a dressed deer-skin (213). Mary Schäffer takes only photographs of Native people, and dispels the notion of the Natives' "superstitious dread of photography," arguing rather that they simply want something in "fair trade" for the privilege of having their pictures taken (178).
20. Kane also retells several Native stories and legends in his narrative (174-77; 185-88).
21. Butler at times addresses the reader directly with phrases such as "my reader" (6, 104) and "good reader"

(59), but also often includes the reader in a collective statement of invitation to "[l]et us see..." (147), "[l]et us now glance..." (187), or "[h]ow shall we picture it?" (199). (See also 74, 141, 273, 329, and 348.) He thereby creates the sense of having the reader right by his side in a re-exploration of the territory he has already travelled.

22. Eric R. Wolf's text Europe and the People Without History further examines this designation of Aboriginals to a place outside the European historical record.

23. An interesting footnote to Butler's vision of the Saskatchewan forks is the following observation made by Ian MacLaren in 1992: "I went to the forks a few years ago with this picture in mind. It is splendid that no sign of man can yet be seen at it. We saw a trumpeter swan and both forks in flood--nothing more."

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